

CHAPTER 11

THE GREEKS OF BACTRIA AND INDIA

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I. INTRODUCTION

No history of the Greeks can be considered complete without an account of their shared experience in the ancient east. In the Achaemenid period, when the Persian empire extended from Greece to Gandhara, a meeting between the east and the west had taken place. Indian soldiers in the Persian army fought on Greek soil, and Greeks such as Scylax made explorations in India for the Persians. Babylonian documents record that in the fifth century B.C. there was an Indian settlement in Nippur and its inhabitants were warriors who had served in the army and had received land; they could lease their plots but had to pay state taxes and perform state duties.¹ An Indian woman, Busasa, kept a tavern in the town of Kish.² There were also some Greeks settled in the far eastern parts of the Persian empire: some had been allowed to dwell there as a reward for their assistance to the Achaemenids, while others were exiled as a punishment for their recalcitrance.³ Because the Ionians were either the first or the most dominant group among the Greeks with whom people in the east came in contact, the Persians called all of them *Yanna*, and the Indians used *Yona* and *Yavana* for them.⁴ Pāṇini of Gandhara, in the fifth

¹ Dandamayev 1972, 35ff.: (F 41); Bongard-Levin 1985, 63–4: (F 31). In relation to this chapter as a whole see also *CAH Pls. to Vol. VII. 1*, pp. 25–32.

² Olmstead 1948, 148: (F 117).

³ Rawlinson 1912, 32: (F 129); Narain 1957–80, 2–3: (F 103); Cozzoli 1958, 273 n. 6: (F 37); Will *CAH*² VII.1.30; Holt 1984, ch. 5: (F 69). Apart from the definite reference in Herodotus VI.9 there are other references in Herodotus and later sources which provide circumstantial evidence for the presence of Greeks in the far eastern parts of the Achaemenid empire before Alexander's arrival there; cf. Herodotus IV.204; Diod. Sic. XVII.110.4–5, also the contents list of book XVII; Arrian V.1–4; Curtius VII.5.28–35. Cf. Hegyi 1966: (F 64), who draws attention to Herodotus IV.142 that the Ionians 'did not regard the Persian rule as an intolerable slavery. . . . The serving of the Persian king and loyalty to him brought for the Greeks not only reward but at the same time also the appreciation and respect of their compatriots.'

⁴ Narain 1957–80, 165–9: (F 103); Tóttösy 1977, 129–35: (F 153A). But here I am using the terms 'Greeks' and 'Yavanas' not only as equivalents but also in a very broad sense to include the Macedonians from Yugoslavia as well as the Libyans from Barca in Cyrene, along with the Greeks from various cities in Asia Minor and the mainland Greece, who came to the east before, during and after the time of Alexander.

century B.C., knew their script as *Yavanānī*.⁵ The imperial money economy of the Persians showed mixed circulation of their own darics and sigloi with the Athenian Owls and the Indian Bent-Bar coins.⁶ Doubtless the settlers must have earned their living by craft and commerce, and participated in the exchange of goods, services and ideas taking place in the Persian empire.

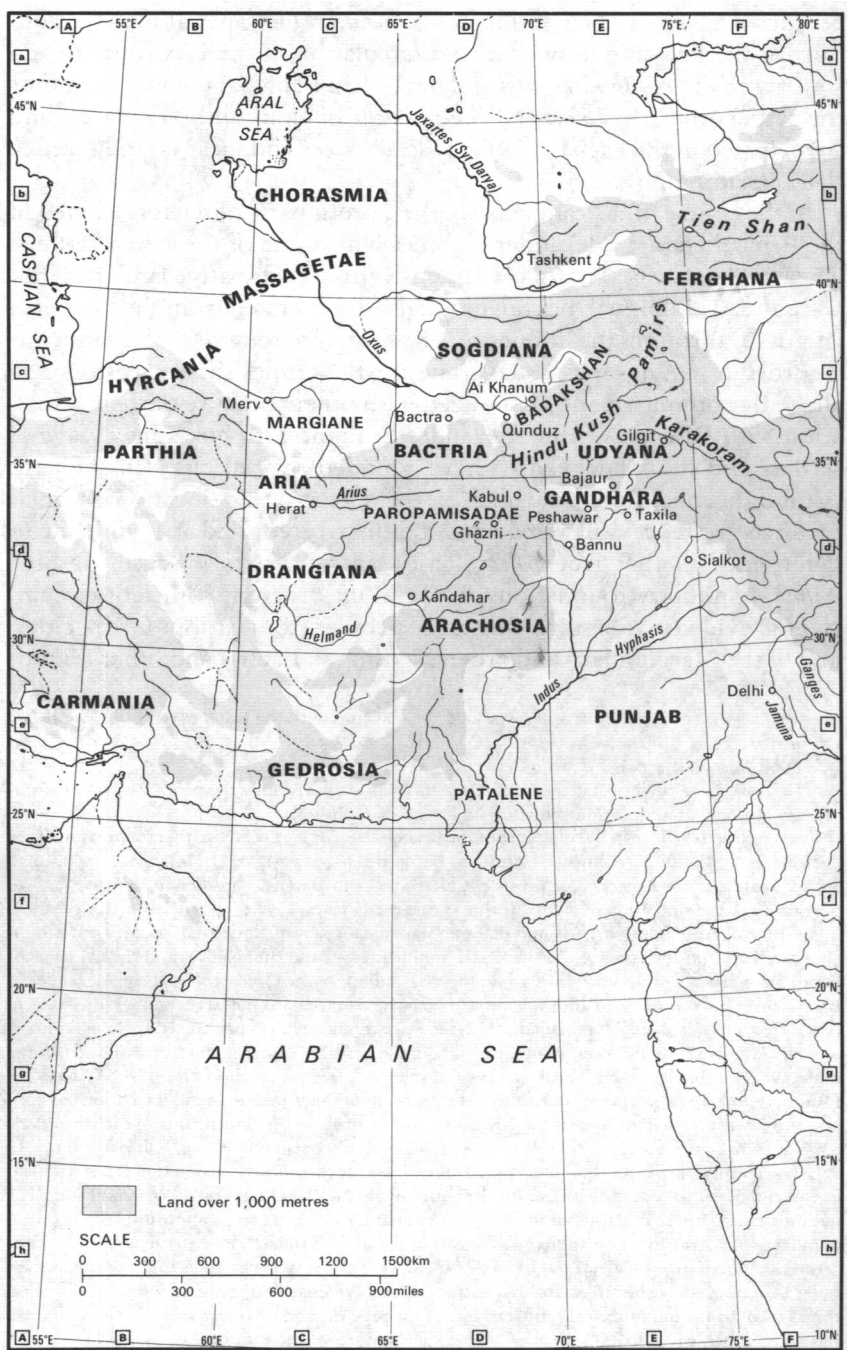
In the course of his campaign in the eastern parts of what remained of the Persian empire Alexander had met with some of these first settlers. They 'had not ceased to follow the customs of their native land, but they were already bilingual, having gradually degenerated from their original language through the influence of a foreign tongue'.⁷ Alexander is recorded as having massacred some for the crimes their ancestors had allegedly committed and fraternized with others because of their association with Dionysus.⁸ But Alexander brought with him a new wave of settlers and he is believed to have founded several cities in the east. Although conclusive evidence of the identity and location of their material existence still remains to be discovered, and it is difficult to determine whether true *poleis*, 'cities' in the political sense, or only *katoikiai*, military foundations, were meant,⁹ there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to assume clusters of peoples from various Greek cities, and of the Macedonians and others, settling in Bactria and other regions

⁵ *Aṣṭādhyāyī* iv.1.49. Pāṇini also associated the Yavanas with the Kambojas, cf. his *Gaṇapāṭha* 178 on ii.1.72. ⁶ Narain 1957-80, 3-5; (F 103).

⁷ Diod. Sic. xvii.110.4-5; Curtius vii.5.29.

⁸ E.g. massacre of the Branchidae (Strabo xi.11.4, xiv.1.5; Plutarch, *Moralia* 557 B; Curtius vii.5.28-35) and fraternization with the Nysaeans of Koh-i-Mor (Arrian v.1-2, vi.2-3). Some scholars refuse to believe in the massacre of the Branchidae, for hardly any satisfactory reason. Tarn 1948, 67; (F 151), calls it a 'clumsy fabrication'; Bernard 1985, 123-5; (F 24). Holt 1984, 174 n. 36; (F 69), who accepts the existence of pre-Alexander Greeks in Bactria, considers it 'unnecessary' to postulate a large population of them. He thinks that the Barcaeans were 'apparently no longer there by the time of Alexander's arrival' and that the Branchidae 'were all destroyed'. But if Holt is right (and not Tarn) on the issue of the wholesale annihilation of the Branchidae, and the evidence of Diod. Sic. xvii.99.5 and xviii.7.2-9 about the mass killing of the Greek colonists of Alexander in Bactria must be considered, Tarn's dilemma (p. 72) of accounting for the large number of Greeks in Bactria remains unsolved; his postulation that the Seleucids must have encouraged settlements in the area on a large scale is hard to substantiate in light of the available evidence and their political fortune there. On the other hand 'it is hardly necessary to think of large scale importation by Seleucids', as Dani 1957, 198-9; (F 42), points out, with a reminder about the British in India. Exception has been taken to my earlier statement that the Greeks of Bactria were *mostly* descendants of earlier settlers, e.g. Walbank 1958, 126; (F 157); Holt 1984, 174; (F 69); but see also others, e.g. Klima 1958, 173; (F 77), who consider my supposition 'very plausible'. It is true that the documentation is not so full as one would like it to be, but that is so for the entire history of the Greeks of Bactria and India. The question here is not so much about the number as about the character and composition of the Greek population involved in the creation of a new state in Bactria and India. It is not to deny the role of the post-Alexander Greeks, even though most of them were not very happy to be in the area and were eager to return home, but to establish a balance in the dynamics of the then prevailing historical forces there by including the role and interests of the pre-Alexander Greeks and their Indo-Iranian relations, which provided a *locus standi* as well as support, in the rationale of their success.

⁹ Koshelenko 1972, 59-78; (F 79); *id.* 1979, chs. 4 and 5, esp. 212-21; (F 80); Holt 1986; (F 66); Musti 1984, 189-90; (F 101A), discusses the matter in the context of the Seleucids.



Map 14. The Greek lands of central and southern Asia.

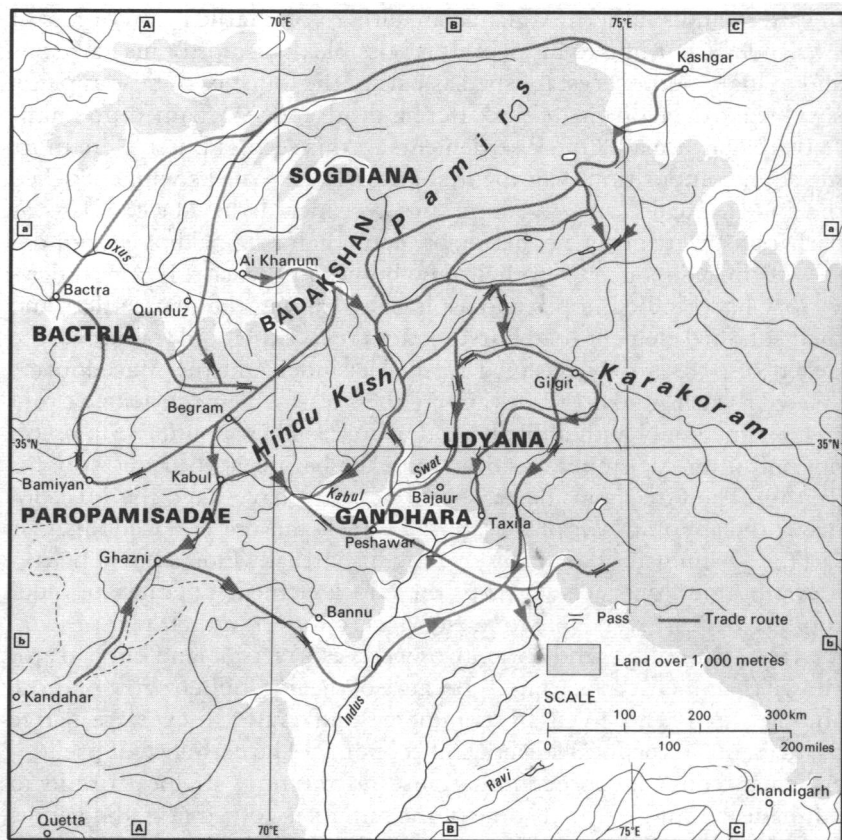
of eastern and southern Afghanistan, either voluntarily or on orders of Alexander according to his plan. It is possible that some of his garrisons and military outposts established as part of the logistics of his campaign survived to develop into 'cities' after his death and were named after him.

Be that as it may, Greek settlements of this second phase were more mixed in composition than the first ones. These Greeks who cherished their individuality and freedom, and considered the Macedonians as barbarians, were never a cohesive group in their original homes; nor did they form such a group in their new homes in the east. If Alexander's victory had kindled hopes and aspirations among the first settlers and their subdued elements had burst forth to revive their old traditions, the mixed responses they received from Alexander and the Macedonians created rivalries and hostilities among their restive elements which could be contained only with difficulty and by force. They would rise in revolt not only after Alexander was dead but even before, at the rumour of his death.¹⁰ The Greeks in the east seem never to have liked the Macedonians; the appointment of Stasanor, a Greek and not a Macedonian, as satrap to administer Bactria in 320, and his virtually independent behaviour are significant facts. Perhaps the Greek elements, because of older roots in Bactria, were able to muster local support in their favour from the Iranian nobility, who not only owned vast tracts of land but had also shown their mettle in warfare.¹¹ Because of the non-military role of those among them who lived by commerce and crafts, they were active participants in the local society and economy. The existence of pseudo-Athenian coins and other imitations and mintings of local origin in Afghanistan suggests that some of the settlers involved in trading and a money economy had established workshops for striking coins when they found a disruption in the flow of money from the west during the last days of the Persian empire. Mintings from these workshops, along with those of some of the ambitious local satraps, are known to have been circulating in Afghanistan during the confused period of the invasion, and probably in the days of transition, before Alexandrian and early Seleucid issues could become available to bring stability into the system.¹²

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. xviii.99.5; xviii.7.1; Curtius ix.7.1-3. Note the example of Athenodorus and the role of the native Bactrians. It is surprising that some scholars play down the animosity between the Greeks and the Macedonians. It is not simply a question of their desire to return home being no different from that of the Greeks (Briant 1973, 63: (F 103)), this matter needs to be discussed at length. Will, *CAH*² vii.1.30, concedes that, 'There is a problem here. . . . But the fact remains that there were large numbers of Greeks in Bactria, that they revolted in 325 and then again in 323, that they survived despite their defeat and the accompanying massacres, and that once calm was restored the satrap appointed to Bactria was a Greek (the Cypriot Stasanor) and not a Macedonian.' See also Koshelenko 1979, 182ff.: (F 80).

¹¹ Narain 1957-80, 5-6: (F 103); Musti 1984, 212-13: (F 101A).

¹² Narain 1957-80, 3-4: (F 103); Head 1906, 1ff.: (F 63); Schlumberger and Curiel 1953, 3ff.: (F 138); but see Bernard 1983, 26-35: (F 24); cf. Mitchiner 1975, 1.1-27: (F 101).



Map 15. Bactria and North-western India.

When Seleucus regained Babylon and Antigonos yielded the eastern domains to him, Seleucus became Alexander's successor in the east only *de jure*. To claim his inheritance he had to mount a campaign in that area once he was free from his western involvements. But it was already too late. Chandragupta Maurya had overthrown the Nandas, whose might had deterred Alexander's army from crossing the River Hyphasis (Beas). As a result of his confrontation with Chandragupta, Seleucus had to cede most of Afghanistan south of the Hindu Kush as well as Baluchistan to the Mauryas.¹³ The two families entered into a matrimonial alliance, and Chandragupta gave five hundred elephants to Seleucus which the latter found useful in his combats in the west. North of the Hindu Kush, in

¹³ Some scholars do not include Aria in the list of provinces ceded to Chandragupta Maurya by Seleucus.

Bactria and adjoining areas, the anti-Macedonian Greek elements, who probably also had some local support, as well as some satraps of eastern origins, had become unco-operative and, wherever possible, independent for all practical purposes. There is no clear information about Seleucus' own movements in the north. But it is generally assumed that the appointment of his son Antiochus I as a co-ruler or viceroy, and the campaigns of Demodamus beyond the Syr Darya, as well as the minting and circulation of some coins in the region, constitute sufficient evidence for the acceptance of Seleucid jurisdiction over Bactria. However, the return of Antiochus I to his western affairs in 281 seems to have provided an opportunity to the restive Greeks to rise again. The last definite reference to Antiochus' control of Bactria is in a Babylonian record of the years 276–274. It refers to twenty elephants which the governor of Bactria, whose name is not given, had sent to the king.¹⁴ But the classical sources and the numismatic evidence indicate that the Seleucid jurisdiction over Bactria continued until at least a couple of years after the death of Antiochus I in 261.

According to Justin, Diodotus (Theodotus), 'governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, revolted and assumed the title of king, and above all the other people of the east, influenced by his example, fell away from the Macedonians'.¹⁵ The Greek–Macedonian dichotomy in eastern affairs is also reflected in Apollodorus, the author of the *Parthica*, when he refers to 'the Greeks who caused Bactriana to revolt from the Syrian kings who succeeded Seleucus Nicator', and states that 'those kings subdued more of India than the Macedonians'.¹⁶ Unfortunately the work of Apollodorus is lost but, in spite of the doubts expressed by Strabo, the fragmentary quotations preserved by the latter provide both insights and reasons for caution. An example is Strabo's statement, following Apollodorus, about these Greeks of Bactria that 'more tribes were subdued by them than by Alexander – mostly by Menander (*at least if he actually crossed the Hypanis towards the east and advanced as far as the Imaus*), for some were subdued by him personally and others by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus the king of the Bactrians; and they took possession not only of Patalene but also, on the rest of the coast, of what is called the kingdom of Saraostus and Sigerdis. In short, Apollodorus says that Bactriana is the ornament of Ariana as a whole; and more than that, they extended their empire even as far as the Seres and the Phryni'.¹⁷

Similarly there are other statements in Strabo based on Apollodorus, e.g. 'when those kings [i.e. the Greeks who caused Bactriana to revolt] had grown in power they also attacked India', and '... any parts beyond

¹⁴ Austin 1981, 240: (A 2). ¹⁵ Justin xli.4.

¹⁶ Strabo xv.1.3. Burstein 1983, 51–2: (A 10A), has drawn attention to the insistence on the *Greekness* of those who revolted. ¹⁷ Strabo xi.11.1.

the Hypanis of which an account has been added by those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra'.¹⁸ Now, these Greeks of Bactria have left no history of their own, and the classical sources, both in the west and in the east, do not have more than a few jumbled statements made only when they are found to be of some relevance to the subjects which constitute their own interests. Ignored by ancient historians in both areas, they have been squeezed out between the two and attract our attention largely on account of their beautiful coinage, which has become the main source for their history.

It is interesting that both the western and the Indian classical sources refer to only eight or nine kings of the Bactrian Greeks.¹⁹ But their coins bear at least thirty-one names of kings and two of queens. However, numismatists and historians have concluded, on justifiable grounds, that some of these names represent more than one king, thus increasing the number of kings to forty or more.²⁰ Between them they cover a time-span of about two hundred years and territories extending, at one time or another, from Sogdiana to the Punjab, making forays even farther in both directions. The only way the time and space involved in their history can be rationalized is by assuming the simultaneous rule of more than one king, not always belonging to the same family, sharing roles of power. Any attempt to arrange them in linear succession or assign them to only one or two dynastic families is next to impossible in the present state of our knowledge.

II. THE EARLY RULERS

Whether the Greeks of Bactria under Diodotus gained their independence from the Seleucids as a result of open revolt or through a gradual transition to power is a topic that the present author has discussed elsewhere. He still believes that Diodotus broke away to freedom in c. 256 B.C.²¹ Before the Parthians celebrated their freedom from the

¹⁸ *Ibid.* xv.1.3, 27-8.

¹⁹ The kings named in the western classical sources are: Diodotus (Theodotus) and his son of the same name (Strabo, Trogu and Justin); Euthydemus I (Polybius and Strabo); Demetrius I, son of Euthydemus I (Polybius and Strabo); Eucratides I (Strabo, Justin and Aelian); Menander (Strabo, Trogu, Justin, Plutarch and *Periplus*); Apollodotus (Trogu and *Periplus*). To these may be added Demetrius II *rex Indorum*, a contemporary of Eucratides I, and the unnamed son of the latter who murdered him (Justin). The Indian Puranas speak of eight Yavana kings but do not give their names, cf. Pargiter 1913, 44ff.: (F 119).

²⁰ Compare lists in Narain 1955-76: (F 102); Lahiri 1965: (F 83); Mitchiner 1975: (F 101); also see older catalogues of coins in the British Museum (Gardner 1898-1966: (F 53)), Lahore Museum (Whitehead 1914: (F 160)), Indian Museum, Calcutta (Smith 1906: (F 148)).

²¹ Narain 1957-80, 12-16: (F 103). Some prefer a round number 250 and others date the event still later. See Wolski 1947, 13-70: (F 165A); *id.* 1956-7, 35-52: (F 166); *id.* 1982, 131-46: (F 167); Will 1979, 1.301-8: (A 40); Musti 1984, 213-16, 219ff.: (F 101A), notes the 'high' and 'low' chronology of Bactria's secession; see Bikerman 1944: (F 25) and Newell 1938, 245: (F 114) for 'high' chronology.

Seleucids in 248/7 B.C., Diodotus, king of Bactria, had already been succeeded by his son of the same name. Both the father and son struck coins in gold and silver with their canting badge of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt;²² Athena, Artemis and Hermes appeared on their copper. The coin portraits of Diodotus I show him with an older face and a double chin; those of Diodotus II, on the other hand, show him as a younger man with a sharp angular face.²³ In fact the older face of the former shows that he had already been a satrap for a time before he became king, and the absence of mature features for the latter is in keeping with the information that the reign of Diodotus II was cut short by his untimely death at the hands of Euthydemus.²⁴ For reasons of monetary expedience and commercial advantage the Diodoti issued some coins with the name of Antiochus as well, a practice the elder Diodotus had begun as a satrap.²⁵ Diodotus I considered himself a saviour of the Greeks in Bactria; some of his coins include the title of *Soter*.²⁶

Doubtless the coins of the Diodoti were struck in Bactria, as were also some of the early Seleucid coins, before Diodotus I became king, which were meant for circulation in the east. Newell assigns most of them to the mint of Bactra because 'this city represents the nearest large commercial and political centre to the spot where the Oxus Treasure was unearthed'; and what constitutes for him finally the determining factor is that the particular group of Seleucid issues which he assigns to Bactra 'leads directly into the immediately following issues of the Bactrian kings Diodotus and Euthydemus I, whose coins would have been struck in Bactria only – never in Parthia or in the lands south of the Hindu Kush. The only logical location for a large and active royal mint would be at Bactra.'²⁷ But the findspot of the Oxus Treasure has never been certain. Convincing claims have now been made in favour of locating it north of the Oxus.²⁸ Moreover, the relevant group of control marks (𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠) have nothing in them to suggest the name of Bactra or its other name, Zariaspa, nor can they represent the name of Diodotus.²⁹ Percy Gardner, the first to discuss the problem, thought that these coins were struck at Dionysopolis, which he equated with Nysa, 'a city of the Paropamisus identified by General Cunningham with the modern Begram, near Cabul'.³⁰ Sir Henry Howorth equated it with Nissa in

²² Narain 1955-76, 3-4: (F 102); Mitchiner 1975, 1.39-44: (F 101). Trevor 1940, 115: (F 154), thought that the coin-type suited the name Diodotus, 'the gift of Zeus'.

²³ Cp. illustrations in Mitchiner 1975, 1.40, 42: (F 101). Also *Pls. to Vol. VII*, 1, pl. 28.

²⁴ Polyb. xi.39. ²⁵ Narain 1957-80, 16-17: (F 103); Mitchiner 1975, 1.36, 39-40: (F 101).

²⁶ Narain 1957-80, 17: (F 103); Mitchiner 1975, 1.41: (F 101); Macdonald 1922, 440: (F 89), and Tarn 1951-84, 201: (F 152), regard these issues as commemorative medals struck by Agathocles; cf. also Holt 1984, 69-91 (F 69). ²⁷ Newell 1938, 229: (F 114).

²⁸ Litvinsky and Pichikiyan 1981, 133-67: (F 88).

²⁹ Narain 1957-80, 14-15: (F 103). ³⁰ Gardner 1879, 12: (F 52).

Parthia.³¹ Newell rightly rejected the location of the mint in Paropamisus or Parthia in favour of Bactria; and, since he did not find a Dionysopolis or Nysa listed in Bactria, he proposed Bactra on the basis of the circumstantial evidence available to him.³² But now the discovery of the Graeco-Bactrian city at Ai Khanum provides a welcome solution. One of the control marks listed above (⊗) – the first in the group because it was used on the earliest series of the joint coinage of Seleucus and Antiochus – has been found stamped on the exceptionally large brick covering a sarcophagus belonging to the earliest chronological phase of habitation in Ai Khanum so far known.³³ Bernard has noted the presence of this monogram on the brick but finds the mirage of Bactra too attractive to abandon and still follows Newell.³⁴ This is strange because he has even found evidence for the existence of a mint at Ai Khanum.³⁵ The commercial importance of Badakshan in antiquity, because of lapis lazuli, is generally recognized. If this monogram can be resolved to read Dionysopolis as Gardner and Howorth thought it did, in spite of their differences, not only does the mint stand identified but also the ancient name of Ai Khanum. The proximity of Ai Khanum to Takht-i Sangin, the recently suggested location of the Oxus Treasure, adds further support to our view. The geographical situation of Ai Khanum in the remote eastern parts of Bactria and the commercial viability of Badakshan are in themselves cogent reasons to assume an early Greek settlement there. Ai Khanum lies a little too far to the east of the route followed by Alexander from Bactria to Paropamisadae to be one of the Alexandrias.³⁶ On the other hand, its geographical position might very well be the reason why Diodotus, a governor of an eastern province of Bactria, found it safe to raise a rebellion. Only future discoveries can settle whether or not the city was renamed later as Diodoteia or Diodotopolis. Even if the control mark (⊗) is not taken as indicative of a city name, or that of a governor, but that of a moneyer, it cannot be denied at any rate that the coins bearing this monogram, and at least some of the others belonging to this group,³⁷ were minted in the workshops at

³¹ Howorth 1888, 295: (F 71). ³² Newell 1938, 228ff.: (F 114).

³³ Bernard 1973, 9, pl. 97: (F 11).

³⁴ Bernard 1985, 39ff.: (F 24); also Bernard and Guillaume 1980, 9ff.: (F 19).

³⁵ Bernard 1985, 35ff.: (F 24). Attention may also be drawn to the observation made by Alexander Grant, in Gardner 1879, 1: (F 52), about the place of discovery of the Oxus Treasure that it was 'eight marches beyond the Oxus at an old fort, on the tongue of land formed by two joining rivers'. Could not Ai Khanum itself be considered a suitable alternative to the site of Takht-i Sangin for the 'Oxus Treasure'? ³⁶ Engels 1978, 97, map. 12: (F 46).

³⁷ According to Newell 1938, 246: (F 114), this group includes monograms which have the Greek letter *delta* as the principal element. Some of these, e.g. Δ Δ, which are found on many Seleucid coins including those of Seleucus I and Antiochus III, were probably minted in other workshops: Narain 1957–80, 15: (F 103). But see Bernard and Guillaume 1980, 18–19: (F 19); Bernard 1985, 35ff.: (F 24).

Ai Khanum and not in Bactra. Later, if and when the Diodoti moved their capital to the city of Bactra, they probably used other workshops, too, in Bactra as well as elsewhere in their kingdom, known to have had many cities.

Not much is known about the career and achievements of the Diodoti. It is agreed that they ruled over Sogdiana, and possibly in Margiane too, which bordered on Parthia.³⁸ It is therefore not surprising that the Parthians feared the might of Diodotus I and that no sooner had he died than they made alliance with his son Diodotus II,³⁹ which provided security and strength to both the new states and frustrated Seleucus II's attempts to reassert Seleucid hegemony in the upper satrapies. According to Strabo, when the Greeks took possession of the country of Bactriana they divided it into satrapies, but he does not give their names and it is not easy to identify them or their satraps.⁴⁰

Perhaps one of the satraps was Euthydemus, a native of Magnesia.⁴¹ According to Polybius he took possession of the throne of Bactria by destroying the descendants of those who had revolted against the Seleucids. Although this statement is not specific it is believed that Euthydemus came to power after killing Diodotus II.⁴² Grousset and de la Vallée-Poussin thought that he was a satrap of Sogdiana, but Cunningham put him in charge of Aria and Margiane.⁴³ Since the first encounter of Antiochus III with Euthydemus in 208 B.C. took place on the banks of the River Arius, the latter was then definitely in possession of it. But since we have no evidence for including Aria in the kingdom of the Diodoti, and since it was included in the list of four satrapies ceded to Chandragupta by Seleucus, it is most likely that Euthydemus started his career as a satrap of the outlying satrapy of Margiane, close to Parthia, and it was only *after* he occupied the Bactrian throne and possibly when the Mauryan empire was in the process of disintegration after the death of Asoka that he took possession of Aria as well.⁴⁴ Probably it was this expansion of the Bactrian kingdom westwards that alerted Antiochus III and prompted him to march against Euthydemus, not only to restrain him from having further designs and punish him, but also thereby to try

³⁸ Narain 1957-80, 17: (F 103). ³⁹ Justin xli.4.

⁴⁰ Strabo xi.516. Tarn 1951-84, 113-14: (F 152), thought that these satrapies were the Seleucid eparchies and that 'the Greek kings of Bactria were in fact the originators of what became the almost universal organisation of Asia in the first century B.C.', and that this 'might date from Diodotus'.

⁴¹ This was the Lydian city of Magnesia ad Sipylum: Macdonald 1922, 440: (F 89); Newell 1941, 274: (F 115).

⁴² Polyb. xi.39; Narain 1957-80, 18: (F 103); Walbank 1957-79, II.264-5 and 312-13: (B 38).

⁴³ Grousset 1929, 53: (F 55); de la Vallée-Poussin 1930, 233: (F 44).

⁴⁴ Out of the four satrapies ceded to Chandragupta by Seleucus, it appears that Aria being the farthest to the west was the first to be lost after the death of Asoka, c. 232 B.C. It was not lost to the Seleucids but to the Greeks of Bactria, and the time coincides with the rise of Euthydemus.

once more to recover as much as possible of the east lost by Seleucus.⁴⁵

The consolidation of Graeco-Bactrian power was largely thanks to the achievements of Euthydemus and his successors. Polybius gives an account of Antiochus III's expedition against Euthydemus and how it concluded, after the latter had withstood a two-year siege of Bactra, through the help of a mediator, Teleas. Having recognized Euthydemus' status and promised to marry his daughter to Demetrius, a son of Euthydemus, and having received in return some elephants, Antiochus III crossed the Hindu Kush and returned to his own kingdom by way of Paropamisadae, Arachosia, Drangiana and Carmania. No details of his engagements and successes or failures, if any, are given by Polybius except that he renewed his family alliance with Sophagasenus, 'the king of the Indians', who added some more elephants to his force.⁴⁶

Polybius reveals an important fact, which was conveyed to Antiochus by Euthydemus, that there was an imminent danger of hordes of nomads approaching from the north and of Bactria relapsing into barbarism. Therefore, after Antiochus III's departure from Bactria, it appears that Euthydemus directed his attention to the north. He used his resources to consolidate his holdings in Sogdiana and probably succeeded in pushing his frontiers towards Chinese Turkestan. Strabo's statement that the Greeks of Bactria extended 'their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni' seems relevant.⁴⁷ This is evident also from the provenance, and barbaric imitations, of the coins of Euthydemus and Demetrius on the one hand and the striking of some nickel coins by a Euthydemus II, who could be another son of Euthydemus, on the other.⁴⁸ Survival of some Greek numismatic terms like *satera* for stater, and *trakhme* for drachm, in the Kharosthi documents of Chinese Turkestan adds further strength to this view.⁴⁹ Having succeeded in containing the danger from the north, Euthydemus looked in other directions. Tarn thought that Euthydemus occupied the Parthian satrapies of Astauene and Apavartikene and perhaps part of Parthyene, which became the Bactrian satrapies of Tapuria and Traxiane.⁵⁰ Tarn may be right in postulating activities of Euthydemus in the westerly direction because of his earlier possessions in Margiane and Aria and their proximity to Parthia.

Written sources know only of Demetrius as the son of Euthydemus, but numismatic evidence strongly suggests at least one more son, who bore the same name as his father. Perhaps Demetrius was the elder and Euthydemus II was the younger of the two. Both issued coins with their

⁴⁵ Seleucus II had failed to achieve success in the east. Antiochus III succeeded at least in containing the rising power of the Bactrian Greeks. Successors of Euthydemus did not look westward for expansion in central and western Iran but southward and eastward in Afghanistan and Pakistan. ⁴⁶ Polyb. XI.39. ⁴⁷ Strabo XI.11.1-2. ⁴⁸ Narain 1957-80, 27: (F 103).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 25-7. ⁵⁰ Tarn 1951-84, 88: (F 152).

realistic portraits on the obverse and Heracles on the reverse, now standing and crowning himself, and not seated as on the coins of their father. Since the coins of Euthydemus II always portray him as youthful without any variation, and are not copious in number, it appears that he was a joint or sub-king in charge of affairs in the north, who either predeceased his father while still young or had only a brief tenure during the reign of his brother Demetrius, who succeeded his father.

But the classical sources appear to have mixed up Demetrius I, son of Euthydemus I, who was old enough in 206 B.C. to have been offered a Seleucid princess in marriage by Antiochus III, and Demetrius II, the *rex Indorum*, who was a contemporary of Eucratides I. Demetrius I issued coins on the Attic standard with unilingual legends only. On his main type he is shown wearing an elephant scalp on the obverse and the reverse has a standing Heracles. Demetrius II, on the other hand, with an altogether different face, is shown either bareheaded or wearing a flat kausia on the obverse of his main types, and with either Zeus or his daughter Athena on the reverse. He issued coins with both unilingual and bilingual legends on the Attic and Indian weight systems respectively.⁵¹ Demetrius I, taking advantage of the disintegrating Mauryan empire in its outlying western parts and of the death of Antiochus III in 187, appears to have extended the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom to Arachosia, which explains the listing of a Demetrias-in-Arachosia by Isidore of Charax,⁵² as well as the use of the coin-types of both Euthydemus and Demetrius I by the early Scytho-Parthians in Arachosia.⁵³ About Carmania there is no evidence, and the possibility of Drangiana and parts of Gedrosia being included in his kingdom remains to be clearly determined.⁵⁴ Paropamisadae and Gandhara were the last regions of the Mauryan empire in the west, ruled by Sophagasenus and Virasena or their successors, respectively, to be lost to the Yavanas. The task of conquest was left to Demetrius II. But before we return to him we must notice how history repeats itself once again. Just as Euthydemus came to power after overthrowing the Diodotids there were others, too, who had followed his example.⁵⁵ Of these the earliest were Antimachus Theos, who preceded Demetrius II, and Eucratides Megas, whose time overlapped with both of them.

Antimachus Theos has been overlooked by ancient historians, but his

⁵¹ For coins see Narain 1955-76, 4-5 (Demetrius I), 6-7 (Demetrius II): (F 102). Also see Mitchiner 1975, 1.55-61: (F 101), who lists their coins without separating the two series; Lahiri 1965, 106-10, pl. 12 and 13: (F 83), distinguishes two Demetrii but his classification of types is different from Narain.

⁵² For Demetrias-in-Arachosia see Isidore of Charax, *Parthian Stations*, p. 9 (ed. Schoff, 1976); Tarn 1951-84, 94: (F 152).

⁵³ For both 'standing Heracles' and 'seated Heracles' were adopted by the Scytho-Parthian kings; Narain 1957-80, 24, 160: (F 103). ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 24-5. ⁵⁵ Strabo xi.9.2.

coins leave no doubt about his powerful and very individual personality among the early group of Graeco-Bactrian kings. While his relationship to either the Diodoti or to Euthydemus may be debated,⁵⁶ it is known that he issued some commemorative medals in the names of both Diodotus I and Euthydemus I.⁵⁷ He was probably a satrap in charge of a province in the northern or north-eastern region of the kingdom of Euthydemus. When Demetrius I became busy in expanding the Euthydemid power in the south, Antimachus carved out his independence. To legitimize his position he issued commemorative medals and adopted the title of *Theos*. His main coin-type showing on the obverse his realistic portrait with a mysterious smile has attracted much attention.⁵⁸ Like other early kings, he issued unilingual coins of Attic weight and his favourite deity was Poseidon. But he was the first among them to strike the Indian type of square or rectangular copper coins with the figure of an elephant on one side and with a thunderbolt, the attribute of Zeus, on the other.⁵⁹ Probably he crossed the Hindu Kush and found it necessary to match the Indian money circulating in the region for local needs. It was left to Demetrius II to strike bilingual coins to mark the actual occupation of territories in Paropamisadae and western parts of Gandhara.

The coins of Demetrius II link him with Antimachus Theos, and indirectly more with the Diodotids than with the Euthydemids.⁶⁰ He was no doubt later than both Antimachus I and Demetrius I, but a contemporary of Eucratides I. He was the first king to issue silver money on the reduced Indian weight standard with legends in both Greek and Indian Prakrit; he also issued some square copper bilinguals on the Indian model. His favourite deities were Zeus and Athena. For his copper he used the thunderbolt and the trident, attributes of Zeus and Poseidon respectively; he used other devices related to the earlier issues of the Diodotids and of Antimachus I. He wears the same headdress as Antimachus with whom it is tempting to see a resemblance, rather than to Demetrius I. It is significant that the monogram used on the bilingual copper of Demetrius II is the same as on the square copper of Antimachus I.⁶¹

Demetrius II adopted the epithet of *Aniketos* and he was the first Graeco-Bactrian king to translate his epithet into an Indian language.⁶² With Kabul and western Gandhara in his hands he could cross the Indus and occupy Taxila, but there is hardly any evidence that he did so in the

⁵⁶ Smith 1906, 5: (F 148); Rawlinson 1912, 62: (F 129).

⁵⁷ Narain 1955-76, 5-6: (F 102); Mitchiner 1975, 1.73-4: (F 101).

⁵⁸ Tarn 1951-84, 92: (F 152); Trever 1940, 7: (F 154); but see Holt 1981, 20 n. 5: (F 65).

⁵⁹ Narain 1955-76, 6: (F 102); Mitchiner 1975, 1.75: (F 101).

⁶⁰ For a discussion see Narain 1957-80, 29-31, 34-7, 50-3: (F 103).

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 52.

material remains of the city.⁶³ Perhaps his ambition was cut short by the defeat he suffered at the hands of Eucratides. At any rate Taxila did not become part of the Yavana domain before Agathocles, and success farther east was to wait for Menander. Possible references to a Demetrius in the Indian sources are extremely dubious.⁶⁴

It is not clear whether Eucratides was a satrap of one of the northern provinces of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom or was a soldier of fortune. There is hardly any evidence to establish his ties with the families of Diodotus, Euthydemus or Antimachus. Nor is there any satisfactory reason to associate him with the Seleucid Antiochus IV.⁶⁵ If the commemorative medal struck by him depicts the jugate busts of his father and mother, who is shown wearing a diadem, we may assume a royal link, which probably provided him a *locus standi* among the Graeco-Bactrians.⁶⁶ Justin states explicitly that he rose to power in Bactria, 'almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians'.⁶⁷ Later, Aelian also remembered him as a ruler of Bactria when a certain Soras was ruling over a city, Perimula, inhabited by fish-eaters, in South India.⁶⁸ Since nothing is known about Soras, Aelian's information is of no use. But the synchronism established by Justin dates the rise of Eucratides c. 171 B.C., which seems correct since Timarchus in 162 is known to have imitated the well-known Dioscuri coin-type of Eucratides I, with the title of Megas, which the latter could have adopted only after some remarkable success and not in the first years of his reign.⁶⁹ According to Justin, Eucratides fought various wars and in spite of his losses he withstood a five-month siege by his contemporary *rex Indorum* Demetrius II and, having repulsed him by continual sallies with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he escaped and 'reduced India under his power. But as he was returning from the country, he was killed

⁶² *Apadibata* is a rarely used Prakrit word to translate the Greek word *Aniketos*.

⁶³ Narain 1957-80, 53: (F 103). Only one coin was found in the Taxila excavations: Marshall 1951, 11.798: (F 98). ⁶⁴ Narain 1957-80, 39-44, 174-9: (F 103).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 56-7. Tarn 1951-84, 197: (F 152), thought that Laodice, probably the mother of Eucratides, was a sister of Antiochus III. Holt 1981, 41: (F 65), thinks that Laodice was a Euthydemid princess.

⁶⁶ But the possibility that the Heliocles-Laodice coin was not in commemoration of the parents of Eucratides but the marriage of his son has also been considered: von Sallet 1879, 23ff., 103: (F 156).

⁶⁷ Justin xli.6.1.

⁶⁸ Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* xv.8 (cf. translation by Schofield (1958) III.218-19). This source refers to Eucratides only in passing as a ruler of Bactria when a city in South India, Perimula, was ruled by a certain Soras; it does not yield any new information. Moreover, the Indian king and his date are not identified.

⁶⁹ It is generally accepted that Mithridates I came to power in 171. Timarchus became king in 162 or 161: Bellinger 1945, 40-4: (B 79), and Houghton 1979, 213-17: (E 25). Eucratides I issued coins first without any epithet, and they show him bareheaded on the obverse and mounted Dioscuri on the reverse; Narain 1955-76, 9-10: (F 102). Mitchiner 1975, 1.88-9: (F 101), attributes the issuance of this coin-type to what he calls the 'Middle period' and dates it in 165-160. He puts the Apollo type of Eucratides II in the 'Early period' of Eucratides I. But cf. Narain 1957-80, 71, 107: (F 103).

on his march by his son, with whom he had shared his throne, and who was so far from concealing the murder, that as if he had killed an enemy, and not his father, he drove his chariot through his blood, and ordered his body to be cast out unburied.⁷⁰ We may speculate on the name of the killer son, but that he could be someone else's son is unlikely, for why should Eucratides make anyone else's son his *socius regni*? A Heliocles was definitely his son but if Plato was another, it was probable that the former, who took the title of *Dikaïos*, was a loyal son; and the latter, who adopted arrogantly the epithet *Epiphanes* and flamboyantly issued coins with Helios driving a quadriga, could be the parricide, who was soon superseded by Heliocles.⁷¹ This tragic end of Eucratides at the peak of his success at the hands of a parricide, so vividly described by Justin, leaves no scope for a longer reign and further expansion of domain by him.

Most probably Eucratides was able to usurp power in the north when Demetrius II Aniketos was busy occupying new lands in the south, in the Paropamisadae and western Gandhara. His success against Demetrius II and the consequent possibility of a brief presence in 'India' were no doubt the final features of the career cut short by his son. Justin's reference to the several wars Eucratides fought makes good sense on the supposition that they took place before his engagement with Demetrius II. For he must have consolidated his control over considerable parts of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom before taking on Demetrius II. One cannot help having the impression from Justin that the entire career of Eucratides was spent fighting wars. And if Justin's comparative assessment in favour of the Parthians against the Bactrians combined with Strabo's reference to Bactria losing two satrapies to Parthia is related to Eucratides,⁷² one wonders if his assumption of the title *Megas* was more an expression of ambition on the part of an usurper than a statement of unmixed achievements. His unique twenty-stater piece⁷³ is more an example of flamboyance and a competitive role against his contemporary rivals like Agathocles than of any monetary or political significance. In fact the way Eucratides is depicted on his main coin-type and the representation of the Dioscuri as charging vigorously on the reverse of his coins complement the character as known from Justin. Doubtless Eucratides was a brave warrior and one of the notable rulers among the Graeco-Bactrians, who could be emulated by other ambitious rebels of his time like Timarchus.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Justin xli.6.

⁷¹ Tarn 1951-84, 219-20: (F 152); Bivar 1950, 9-12: (F 26); Narain 1957-80, 70-3: (F 103).

⁷² Strabo xv.1.3, xi.11.2; Tarn 1951-84, 219: (F 152).

⁷³ S. Narain 1956, 217-18: (F 113); Mitchiner 1975, 1.91: (F 101).

⁷⁴ Tarn 1951-84, 218: (F 152); Bellinger 1950, 314: (F 6); Houghton 1979, 213-17: (E 25). All coins of Timarchus bear the title *Basileus Megalou*, and the assumption is that he adopted Eucratides' type and title by virtue of his alliance. If Timarchus would not be considered a 'Great' king because of the title *Megalou* he adopted, why should Eucratides be so considered on *this* ground?

Nevertheless recent attempts to represent him as greater than the evidence actually requires, and to extend his tenure to twenty-five years or more, are hardly convincing.⁷⁵ To relate the beginning of an era from the accession of Eucratides⁷⁶ requires more imagination than one can justify at present. There is nothing of substance in Aelian which would support any special claim to greatness.⁷⁷ So also there is hardly anything in the text of the inscription found on an ostrakon at Ai Khanum to support the theory that the figure 24 there is the regnal year of Eucratides.⁷⁸ Similarly, in order to associate the end of Ai Khanum with that of the reign of Eucratides, and not later, we need more substantial evidence than is presently available, particularly when the work at the site is still incomplete.⁷⁹ There are reasons not only to doubt even the inclusion of Badakshan in the domain of Eucratides but also to think of a destruction of the site in 145 B.C., which is the later date suggested for the end of the reign of Eucratides.⁸⁰ It has been shown that the Yuezhi were still north of the Oxus in 128 B.C. and that the incursions of the Scythians from the north, on account of the Yuezhi pressure, could not have taken place much earlier and that they were taking place in westerly directions affecting the Parthians and causing the deaths of two of their kings.⁸¹ There do not seem to be grounds to revise the chronology of Eucratides: he ruled from c. 171 to 155 B.C. Much of the problem appears to be largely the result of a failure to recognize that all the coins which bear the name

⁷⁵ Mitchiner 1975, 1.65–72: (F 101), dates him c. 171–135 B.C. Simonetta 1958, 173: (F 144), and Bernard 1980, 442–4: (F 17); *id.* 1980, 24–7: (F 19); *id.* 1985, 97ff.: (F 24), date him 170–145 B.C. See also Fussman 1980, 36–7: (F 51); Holt 1981, 41–2: (F 65); Rapin 1983, 369–70: (F 127). But see Tarn, 1951–84, 219: (F 152), and Bellinger 1950, 314: (F 6), who believe Eucratides died in 159/8 B.C.

⁷⁶ Bernard 1980, 442: (F 17); *id.* 1985, 102: (F 18), but he does not identify the Soras mentioned by Aelian, although the synchronism with Soras is central to his argument. Nilkanta Sastri 1972, 61: (F 116), who knew Aelian's source for Soras, only suggested that the word is derived from Tamil Sola, perhaps standing for Cola, one of the early ruling clans or dynasties of southern India which, though known from the time of Asoka, came to prominence during 9th–12th centuries A.D. It is not clear whether the Soras of Aelian was the personal name of a king or the name of the clan or dynasty. Even if it was a personal name we have no means of knowing his identity or date. To find a date for Eucratides on the basis of this synchronism is arguing in a circle.

⁷⁷ It is nothing more than a very casual reference to 'the time when Eucratides was ruler of Bactria'. Aelian does not add anything about Eucratides' date or his achievements. It is asking too much to agree with Bernard's statement: 'Le synchronisme dont il fait état montre que le règne d'Eucratides dut servir à des historiographes de l'Asie Centrale, des Grecs sans doute, comme point de repère chronologique pour des événements extérieurs au domaine propre de la colonisation grecque. On mesure en même temps par là le retentissement qu'eut dans les régions voisines de l'empire grec ce règne qui put ainsi servir de référence à celui d'un potentat de la côte méridionale de l'Inde.' It may be noted that Aelian was not a historiographer of Central Asia, and also that the city of Perimula in extreme South India cannot be regarded as a region bordering the so-called Greek empire.

⁷⁸ There is no mention of Eucratides before or after the number 24. The missing part following the number is supposed to contain references to month and day. This is somewhat unusual; one may compare this with the examples of inscriptions which refer to reckoning systems related to the names of Menander, Azes and Kanishka.

⁷⁹ The excavations at the site had to be discontinued for reasons beyond the control of the excavators. ⁸⁰ Bernard 1985, 97ff.: (F 24). ⁸¹ Narain 1957–80, 128–42: (F 103).

of Eucratides are not the issues of a single king. This has led to a merging of the career and coinage of at least two kings of the same name, Eucratides I Megasthenes and Eucratides II Soter.⁸² That there were at least two of them was first suggested as early as 1738 and since then it has been supported by many, including the present author.⁸³ Whether the second was a son or a grandson of the first may be argued, but that there was more than one king who issued all the coins bearing the name of Eucratides seems beyond question.⁸⁴

Among the notable early Graeco-Bactrian kings, Pantaleon and Agathocles are generally considered as brothers and as ruling around the same time as Eucratides I. A recent discovery of an Agathocles coin commemorating Pantaleon supports the theory that, of the two, Pantaleon was the elder brother who probably ruled and died before Agathocles.⁸⁵ This commemorative coin is the last of a series issued by Agathocles which included commemoration of Alexander, Antiochus, Diodotus, Euthydemus and Demetrius. Probably the two brothers started as joint or sub-kings and Agathocles took over after a brief reign by Pantaleon. It is more than likely that, when Eucratides I Megasthenes was usurping power in Bactria and Demetrius II was heading towards Paropamisadae and the Indus, these two brothers were harassing Eucratides in the several wars mentioned by Justin and holding forts in north-eastern and eastern Bactria against Eucratides I.⁸⁶ The commemorative medals issued by Agathocles were probably meant to strengthen the legitimization of his position in Bactria as against Eucratides I the usurper.⁸⁷

⁸² It is difficult to believe that a usurper who was killed by his own son ruled over Bactria and India for 36 years (Mitchiner) or even 25 or 26 years (Bernard, Holt) at a stretch in the history of a large group of kings (about forty) belonging to several families and torn by relatives and in-fighting within the limited span of about two hundred years. In view of the very realistic old age portraits of Euthydemus I among the early kings and of Strato among the later ones it is hard to accept that if Eucratides had actually ruled for such a long period his mints did not find any reason to strike at least some coins showing his old age, even towards the close of his reign. Bernard's theory identifying the year 24 in one of the ostraca inscriptions found in the 'Treasury' of Ai Khanum as belonging to the reign of Eucratides is a speculation which neither this text, nor for that matter any of the inscriptions of the 'Treasury', supports. Contrast for example the case of the Bajaur casket inscription of Menander where the name of the king is mentioned, after the year.

⁸³ Narain 1957-80, 71: (F 103); Bayer 1738, xxxix, 95: (F 5). Bernard 1985, 97: (F 24), mentions Bayer's date for the end of Eucratides approvingly but does not refer to the latter's division of coins between Eucratides I and II. While some recent writers (Mitchiner 1975, 1.65-72: (F 101); Holt 1981: (F 65)) have assumed, without convincing reasons, that the coins bearing the name of Eucratides belong to only one king, the classification by Bayer has been widely accepted.

⁸⁴ Narain 1957-80, 123-4: (F 103). In view of the murder of Eucratides while returning from 'India' and of his name being remembered more as a king of Bactria, and not of India, it is not unreasonable to postulate that most of the square copper coins listed under his name were actually posthumous mintings. Round bilinguals in silver and copper with the Dioscuri (Mitchiner 1975, 1.96-7: (F 101)), on the other hand, were no doubt his issues.

⁸⁵ Narain 1957-80, 59-60: (F 103). For Agathocles commemorating Pantaleon see Francfort 1975, 19-22: (F 48). ⁸⁶ Justin xli.6; Narain 1957-80, 58ff.: (F 103).

⁸⁷ Tarn 1951-84, 201, 263, 439-40, 446-51: (F 152); Narain 1957-80, 60-1: (F 103).

So far nothing is known about Pantaleon and Agathocles from the literary sources. But numismatic and archaeological evidence shows that their activities were mostly confined more to eastern rather than to western parts of Bactria. Perhaps Eucratides I was able to control the western and even central parts of it, as well as some territories north of the Oxus. Discoveries at Ai Khanum seem to favour the Euthydemids and/or the rivals of Eucratides in eastern Bactria, for it is their coinage which overwhelmingly predominates there.⁸⁸ On the other hand, coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles are rare in the western parts of Bactria. Their unilingual tetradrachms, and the commemorative medals issued by Agathocles, were struck on the Attic standard. Their favourite deity, Zeus, associates them with the Diodoti and Demetrius II. Significantly their round copper and nickel coins which are unilingual – as against the square, rectangular or triangular ones which are bilingual – depict on the obverse a young Dionysus wearing an ivy wreath, with thyrsus over his shoulder, and a panther on the reverse. These coins, which have been found at Ai Khanum,⁸⁹ are certainly important if the depiction of Dionysus could be an allusion to Dionysopolis, probably the ancient name of Ai Khanum.⁹⁰ Moreover, the occurrence of this type also on nickel indicates that these coins were meant for circulation, like those of Euthydemus II, in the north-eastern parts of the kingdom which obviously included Badakshan and probably extended even towards Chinese Turkestan, if Strabo's reference to Greek extensions in the direction of Seres and Phryni is correct.⁹¹ While both the brothers struck some copper bilinguals with an Indian Yakshi goddess and maneless lion, Agathocles also issued coins with additional types.⁹² The most significant of them are not only those which use the Buddhist motif of Chaitya and devices found on the local coins of Taxila,⁹³ but the rectangular silver bilinguals which represent for the first time the hero-gods Vāsudeva and Saṃkarshaṇa⁹⁴ of the Brahmanical Bhāgavat cult to which later Heliodorus, the envoy of Antialcidas of Taxila to Bhāgabhadra of Vidishā (near Bhopal), was devoutly affiliated.⁹⁵ It is not without significance that the two brothers are the only ones among the Bactrian Greeks who introduced on their coins the Indian Brahmi script in addition to Kharosthi, which was normally used in the Indo-Greek bilingual coin-

⁸⁸ Only ten coins bearing the name of Eucratides have been noticed in the two hoards found at Ai Khanum as against 112 bearing the name of Euthydemus (if two kings of the name of Euthydemus and Eucratides are not to be distinguished).

⁸⁹ Cf. Bernard 1985, 65: (F 24). ⁹⁰ Narain 1986: (F 112); see above pp. 396–7.

⁹¹ Strabo XI.11.1; Narain 1957–80, 25–7: (F 103). ⁹² Mitchiner 1975, 1.81–4: (F 101).

⁹³ *Ibid.* 1.81–3. For local Taxila coins see Allan 1934: (F 1).

⁹⁴ For the Agathocles coins showing the Indian deities see Bernard 1971, 441: (F 8); Narain 1973, 73–7: (F 107), the coins which are of silver were mistakenly mentioned as of copper by me; Filliozat 1973, 123: (F 47); Audouin and Bernard 1974, 8–21, pl. 1: (F 2); Mitchiner 1975, 1.80: (F 101).

⁹⁵ For Heliodorus' affiliation to Bhagavat cult see Narain 1957–80, 118–19: (F 103).

age.⁹⁶ In fact the six coins of Agathocles with the legend in Brahmi script which have been found at Ai Khanum are among the earliest examples of this script found outside the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.⁹⁷ Agathocles was the first Yavana king to possess Taxila and initiate a forward policy of extending patronage to Indian religions and cults, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. He probably opened, or used, more northerly passes and routes than the usually frequented ones in the south to reach Taxila, and thus made commercial and cultural contacts easier between north-eastern and eastern Afghanistan on the one hand and north-western Pakistan on the other.⁹⁸ This was probably because Eucratides I, or his family, was controlling most of the southerly passes and routes for a while, which would not allow their use easily to his rivals and their associates.

III. MENANDER

The policy initiated by Agathocles was followed by Menander. It is generally accepted that Menander was married to Agathocleia, probably a sister or daughter of Agathocles.⁹⁹ Menander is the only Graeco-Bactrian king whose name has survived in Indian classical sources.¹⁰⁰ He is the first, and one of the only two definite names out of possibly three or four of the Graeco-Bactrian kings, known from inscriptions found in South Asia.¹⁰¹ He was surely the most famous of the Yavana kings,

⁹⁶ Narain 1955-76, 7-8: (F 102); Mitchiner 1975, 1.81, 84: (F 101).

⁹⁷ It is difficult to date any Brahmi inscription in South Asia before the time of Asoka. Even he used Kharosthi for his inscriptions found in the north-western parts of the Indian sub-continent. The only pre-Greek use of this script may be noted on some local coins of Taxila and adjoining regions, and they are rare. In the light of this not only the use of Brahmi by Pantaleon and Agathocles is significant but more so the discovery of some of these coins at Ai Khanum. Of added importance is the discovery of large bricks with the stamp of a Brahmi letter juxtaposed with a Greek monogram: Narain 1986, 797-801: (F 110).

⁹⁸ This is indicated not only by the presence of punch-marked coins but also by reference to Karshapanas in the ostraca inscriptions of the 'Treasury' at Ai Khanum. Archaeological discoveries show that the Badakshan region was in communication with Gandhara through the northern routes and Swat valley. ⁹⁹ Tarn 1951-84, 78, 225: (F 152); Narain 1957-80, 75: (F 103).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Milindapañha*, the Pali Buddhist text, edited by Trenckner 1928: (F 100) and translated into English by Rhys Davids 1890, 1894: (F 100). For the Chinese version of this work cf. Demiville 1924-5, 168: (F 45); Pelliot 1914, 413-19: (F 121); Levi 1936, 126: (F 87). See also Abhayanandi's commentary *Mahāvīriti* on Jainendra's *Vyākaraṇa*, edited by Lazarus 1918, 286: (F 84), where the name of Menander is Indianized as Mahendra: Narain 1957-80, 83: (F 103). There is also a reference to King Minara of Tukharas in Taranath's *History of Buddhism* (in Tibetan), identified with Menander by Lassen, cf. Narain 1957-80, 98: (F 103).

¹⁰¹ The other is Antialcidas referred to in the Besnager pillar inscription of Heliodorus, cf. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 5; Narain 1957-80, pl. 6: (F 103), for text and illustration; Burstein 1985, 53: (A 10A). The Bajaur casket inscription in Kharosthi is still the only inscription which gives the name of Menander and possibly his regnal year: Narain 1957-80, pl. 6: (F 103), for text and illustration. A recent publication, Sharma 1980: (F 142), claiming to have found an inscription in Brahmi characters with the name of Menander, is very misleading, for not only is the

remembered as Milinda in the Buddhist tradition. According to the Pali Buddhist work *Milindapañha* (*Questions of King Milinda*), he was born in a village called Kalasi, not far from Alasanda, probably an Alexandria, which was about 200 *yojana* from Sāgala.¹⁰² Probably he was assigned to govern the satrapy of either Arachosia or Paropamisadae, his home area, because of his matrimonial links, and he rose to kingship about the time that Eucratides I died, c. 155 B.C.¹⁰³ His marriage to a royal princess, Agathocleia, must have contributed to the legitimization of his rule. In any case it is clear from the dialogue he had with Buddhist monk Nagasena that Menander came from a family of kings.¹⁰⁴

The variety and the wide provenance of his coinage affirm the importance and extent of his power. His appearance is vividly rendered on his Attic tetradrachm by 'a fine portrait in very high relief which is of exceptional quality even among the masterpieces executed by other artists on Bactrian coins'.¹⁰⁵ It has been well observed that 'the owner of the austere and intellectual features on this unique Greek tetradrachm could well have engaged in debate with a Buddhist sage'.¹⁰⁶ The favourite deity of his coinage is Athena which might or might not have been copied from the archaising statue of Athena Alkidemos at Pella but which surely associates Menander with Diodotus and Demetrius II.¹⁰⁷ Some gold staters bearing the bust of Athena and an owl but with no legends are usually attributed to Menander.¹⁰⁸ The striking of bilingual silver tetradrachms, though first started by Demetrius II, became a

name not at all there to read but also it is palaeographically much later in time than Menander: see Verma 1981, 77–80: (F 155); Gupta 1985, 200–1: (F 59). I too have personally examined it and find no basis to support Sharma.

One may wonder if names like those of Strato, Philiskos (= Philoxenos), Hermaios in the Greek inscriptions found at Ai Khanum could be of those who became kings later. In the absence of royal titles and other indications this may be nothing more than wishful thinking. There is the example of Theodamus whose Kharosthi inscription has been noticed by Konow 1929, 6: (F 78); but no coin of Theodamus has been found.

¹⁰² Tarn 1951–84, 41, 420: (F 152); for the identity of Sāgala see Narain 1957–80, 172–3: (F 103). But I do not rule out its identity now with Sanghol near Chandigarh, which will extend the actual control of the Yavanas further east than Ravi, a limit I had suggested earlier. The site which is now being excavated has already yielded rich material for the Saka phase; the Greek phase still remains to be excavated.

¹⁰³ Narain 1957–80, 77: (F 103). Most scholars accept this date with a plus/minus of five years.

¹⁰⁴ *Milindapañha*, ed. Trenckner 1928, 329: (F 100); Narain 1957–80, 74: (F 103).

¹⁰⁵ Jenkins 1968, 109: (F 75). ¹⁰⁶ Kraay 1973, 161, see esp. fig. 167: (F 81).

¹⁰⁷ Jenkins and Kraay (*op. cit.*) see in this type a Macedonian descent of Menander. But note the specific information about Menander's birthplace in the *Milindapañha* and cf. Tarn 1951–84, 99, 310, 420–2, 432–3: (F 152); Narain, 1957–80, 74–5: (F 103). Also note Tarn, *op. cit.* 269, who thinks that adoption of Athena goes against Menander being a Buddhist, and he plays down his adoption of the Buddhist symbol, the *Dharma-chakra* = 'wheel of law', on his copper.

¹⁰⁸ Whitehead 1940, 105–6: (F 162); Narain 1957–80, 99: (F 103). Almost all specimens with any indication of provenance seem to have come from Charsadda, cf. Haughton 1958, 66: (F 62). If the isolated Greek letter *alpha* on these staters represent the regnal year of Menander, they were perhaps struck in the very first year of his reign: Bivar 1970, 126: (F 30).

normal practice from the time of Menander.¹⁰⁹ But it is the copper coinage in various denominations which provides the large variety of types used by Menander.¹¹⁰ He adopted two epithets, *Soter* and *Dikaios*, on his money.¹¹¹ Often his coins bear single Greek letters in addition to the monograms, and it has been argued that they represent either the regnal years of the king or marks of value.¹¹²

The Shinkot (or Bajaur) Buddhist casket inscription,¹¹³ which mentions Menander's name and one of his regnal years, probably marks the introduction of an era that continued to be used even by the Saka kings who followed the Yavanas in the upper Indus valley for a system of dating using Greek month-names for their records in Kharosthi.¹¹⁴ Numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence agree that Menander ruled over much of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and his kingdom certainly included Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, Quetta, Bannu, Peshawar, Taxila, Swat and Sialkot.¹¹⁵ With much of Afghanistan and Pakistan under him, Menander was well placed to expand either to areas north of the Hindu Kush at the cost of the successors of Eucratides I, or eastward at the cost of the fragmentary successor states of the Mauryan empire. So far, the numismatic evidence for his activities north of the Hindu Kush is tenuous.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, Heliocles I is more likely to have ruled over much of Bactria in the north and he was probably the last among those whose domain included territories even north of the Oxus.¹¹⁷ The coins of Heliocles I constitute one third of the entire Qunduz hoard, and they were also the latest Graeco-Bactrian types imitated by the Yuezhi and possibly by some of the other nomadic chiefs

¹⁰⁹ Bivar is incorrect in stating that the bilingual tetradrachms were 'unknown before the time of Menander': Bivar 1970, 134: (F 30).

¹¹⁰ Narain 1957-80, 99: (F 103). So far 18 varieties have been listed in Narain 1955-76, 14-15: (F 102), 20 in Lahiri 1965, 153-62: (F 83), and 24 in Mitchiner 1975, II, 130-9: (F 101). Also *Pls. to Vol. VII*, I, pl. 36.

¹¹¹ Narain 1957-8, 99-100: (F 103). Some scholars have seen in the two epithets two kings of the name of Menander: Lahiri 1965, 160: (F 83).

¹¹² Bivar 1970, 123ff.: (F 30), *contra* MacDowall 1975, 39ff.: (F 91).

¹¹³ Majumdar 1937-8, 1-10: (F 96); Narain 1957-80, pl. 6.1: (F 103).

¹¹⁴ This era has also been named as the Old Saka Era. Thomas 1952, 111-12: (F 153), was perhaps the first to suggest that the Sakas used an era of Greek origin. The use of Macedonian month-names such as Apellaios (Hadda, year 28), Artemisios (Wardak, year 51), Audunaios (Kurram, year 20), Daisios (Sui Vihar, year 11), Panemos (Taxila, year 78) in the Kharosthi inscriptions of the later Saka-Pahlava kings supports the hypothesis. Its association with Menander was suggested by Narain 1957-80, 142-4: (F 103); see also Wheeler 1962, 125: (F 159); Smith 1958, 178: (F 146), *id.* 1977-8, 330-1: (F 147), where he states 158 as the starting date; Bivar 1970, 126: (F 3).

¹¹⁵ Narain 1957-80, 97: (F 103).

¹¹⁶ This is mainly based on the Attic tetradrachm of Menander. Now there are two specimens, cf. Mitchiner 1975, II, 120: (F 101); Narain 1957-80, 97: (F 103); Jenkins 1968, 109: (F 75). Plutarch called Menander a Bactrian king.

¹¹⁷ Narain 1957-80, 70-2, 104-6: (F 103); *id.* 1955-76, 12-13: (F 102).

in the Oxus valley.¹¹⁸ But the Attic tetradrachms of Menander and his gold staters,¹¹⁹ along with the references in Apollodorus and Plutarch, may indicate as well his impact in some parts of Bactria proper even if not north of the Oxus.

There is certainly some truth in Apollodorus and Strabo when they attribute to Menander the advances made by the Greeks of Bactria beyond the Hypanis (modern Gharra, a tributary of the Indus) and even as far as the Ganges and Palibothra.¹²⁰ There is hardly any reason to doubt the subjugation of territories up to the Hypanis by Menander. That the Yavanas advanced even beyond in the east, in the Ganges-Jamuna valley, about the middle of the second century B.C. is supported by the cumulative evidence provided in the Indian sources. *Yugapurāṇa* records their attack over Saket (Ayodhya) and their reaching as far as Kusumadhva (Pātaliputra), but returning home post-haste because of their internal dissensions.¹²¹ Patañjali's grammatical treatise refers to the Yavanas besieging the cities of Saket and Madhyamikā (near Chittor).¹²² Kalidasa alludes to the defeat of an advancing Yavana unit at the hands of Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushymitra who had overthrown the Mauryas, on the banks of the River Kali Sindhu in north-central India.¹²³ Since all these accounts are generally datable c. 150 B.C. or a little later, they fit in very well with Menander's time and his role as known from coins and from the western classical sources. But the Yavanas were not able to make territorial gains in the Ganges-Jamuna valley.¹²⁴ Whitehead believes that the Indo-Greeks could have done no more than conduct cold-weather campaigns or make long-distance raids.¹²⁵ While this may be so, we must also look for deeper causes for the failure of the Indo-Greeks to find a foothold in the Ganges-Jamuna valley.¹²⁶

To enable Menander to conduct his campaigns in various directions and to maintain firm control of his domain a well-planned administrative system and able joint or sub-kings and military commanders were as necessary as local co-operation. 'Strategoi' and 'Meridarchs' are known

¹¹⁸ Out of 627 coins recorded from the Qunduz hoard 221 are of Heliocles I: Curjel and Fussman 1965, 13: (F 39); earlier information about number of coins in Bivar 1955, 2: (F 27), and Narain 1957-80, 106: (F 103), is incorrect. Also the exact site of the discovery is known as Khist Tepe on the River Oxus (Amu Darya) near Qunduz. ¹¹⁹ Mitchiner 1975, II.120: (F 101).

¹²⁰ Strabo XI.11.1-2, XV.1.27-8.

¹²¹ See for reference and discussion on the relevant text Narain 1957-80, 84-5, 174-9: (F 103).

¹²² Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* II.118-19 Kielhorn (F 120). An echo of the Yavanas besieging the city of Mathura has been noted also in a later grammatical work, Abhayānandi's *Mahāvṛtti* on Jainendra's *Vyākaraṇa*, 286 Lazarus: (F 84); cf. Narain 1957-80, 83 n. 6: (F 103).

¹²³ Kalidasa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* 227-8 Misra: (F 76). For the identity of the river see Narain 1957-80, 82: (F 103). ¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 82-90.

¹²⁵ Whitehead 1940, 92: (F 162); but cf. Marshall 1951, 1.32 n. 4: (F 98).

¹²⁶ Narain 1957-80, 90-5: (F 103).

from inscriptions.¹²⁷ Apollodotus, if there was an earlier one,¹²⁸ could have been a joint king, and as we have suggested elsewhere, Antimachus II, Polyxenus and Epander were probably his sub-kings.¹²⁹ Menander is also known to have appointed Indians to high administrative positions; one name which has survived is that of Viyakamitra, the governor of Swat valley (Udyāna).¹³⁰

Of the joint kings and sub-kings of Menander suggested above, Apollodotus alone is mentioned in the western classical sources. Out of the two references available,¹³¹ the present author had raised questions about one of them, and argued that both the literary and the numismatic evidence indicate the existence of only one Apollodotus, who flourished later than Menander and could be one of his sons.¹³² Tarn had thought that both Menander and Apollodotus were lieutenants of Demetrius I and were responsible for spearheading his military campaigns in India.¹³³ With the revised opinion about Demetrius I and Menander, this theory is out of the question. Moreover, the recent discovery of a unilingual Attic tetradrachm in the name of Apollodotus¹³⁴ resolves the problem in favour of having two kings of the same name, one earlier and another later. But it is still difficult to place Apollodotus I before Eucratides I in Kapisa.¹³⁵ The kausia headdress of Apollodotus on the obverse and Athena on the reverse of the Attic tetradrachm link him with Antimachus Theos on the one hand and Demetrius II and Menander on the other. Apollodotus I may now be counted as a junior contemporary of Menander, probably a brother and a joint king.¹³⁶ It is possible that he staked his claim after the death of Menander, during the regency of Agathocleia when Strato I was a minor, and was able to wrest power during a gap in the long reign of Strato I.¹³⁷ Apollodotus II then would be a son not of Menander, as I thought earlier, but of Apollodotus I. In

¹²⁷ Narain 1957-80, 95: (F 103). For the texts of the inscriptions see Konow 1929: (F 78).

¹²⁸ For a discussion of the problem: Narain 1957-80, 64ff.: (F 103); *id.* 1957, 121ff.: (F 104); Guépín 1956, 1ff.: (F 56); Jenkins 1959, 20ff.: (F 73); MacDowall and Wilson 1960, 221ff.: (F 90). With the recent discovery of an Attic tetradrachm with the portrait of an Apollodotus different from those on the bilingual coins, the question now appears solved in favour of two kings of the same name: Bernard 1974, 307: (F 13). ¹²⁹ Narain 1957-80, 95-6: (F 103).

¹³⁰ Viyakamitra of the Shinkot (Bajaur) casket inscription of Menander's reign, cf. Narain 1957-80, 79-80, 95: (F 103).

¹³¹ Trogus' *Prologue* xli and *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 47 Schoff.

¹³² Narain 1957-80, 64-9, 122-7: (F 103). *Contra* Jenkins 1959, 20ff.: (F 73); MacDowall and Wilson 1960, 221ff.: (F 90). ¹³³ Tarn 1951-84, 141-56: (F 152).

¹³⁴ Petitot-Biehler 1975, 37-9, pl. 5.50: (F 122). ¹³⁵ Narain 1957-80, 64, 122-4: (F 103).

¹³⁶ I have shown the weakness of the theory which dates Apollodotus I before Eucratides I: Narain 1957-80, 64-9, 122-9: (F 103). In view of the new tetradrachm, if we must have two Apollodoti the earlier one can only be about the time of Menander. Tarn may be partially right about treating him as a contemporary of Menander, though I do not agree with the whole scenario presented by him regarding the role and relationship of Apollodotus I: Tarn 1951-84, 14ff.: (F 152).

¹³⁷ Narain 1957-80, 146-8: (F 103).

any case the coins bearing the name of Apollodotus are abundant and are often found in association with those of Menander. Among those attributed to Apollodotus I, besides the new tetradrachm, the most remarkable ones are the silver square coins with the device of an elephant and a bull, and bearing a bilingual legend.¹³⁸ Menander appears on his coins both as a youth and as well advanced in middle age; it is most likely that he ruled for about twenty-five years and died c. 130 B.C. According to the Buddhist sources he handed over his kingdom to his son and retired from the world, but Plutarch reports that he died in a camp.¹³⁹ Be that as it may, it is generally agreed that his son and successor, Strato, was not of age, and therefore Menander's queen, Agathocleia, ruled as a regent and became the first woman among the Graeco-Bactrians to mint coins.¹⁴⁰

If Menander's name has survived in Indian sources it is because of his affiliation to Buddhism and patronage of that religion. His dialogue with the Buddhist monk Nagasena as recorded in the *Questions of King Milinda* is a lucid exposition of early Buddhist doctrine.¹⁴¹ One of his copper coin-types depicts the Buddhist *Dharma-chakra*, the Wheel of Law.¹⁴² The fact of his conversion to Buddhism finds an echo in Plutarch's statement that at Menander's death 'the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect of his remains, they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all their cities'.¹⁴³ For this is unmistakably Buddhist and recalls the similar situation at the time of the Buddha's passing away. Menander's connection with Buddhism is preserved also in the Chinese, Indo-Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist traditions of later times, and like Asoka and Kanishka, he became a legendary figure.¹⁴⁴ We do not believe with Tarn that Menander adopted the faith only nominally and as a matter of policy against the Brahmanical leadership of the post-Mauryan kings with whom he fought.¹⁴⁵

Menander's achievements and period show Graeco-Indian power at its apogee. He certainly ruled from Kabul in the west to Chandigarh in the east, and from Swat in the north to Kandahar in the south. Extension of his authority in Bactria, even if not as far as the Oxus or beyond it, may not be out of the question. Thus if the impact of Yavana power was felt in

¹³⁸ Narain 1955-76, 26-7: (F 102); Mitchiner 1975, II.116-17: (F 101).

¹³⁹ Plutarch, *Moralia* 821 D-F. ¹⁴⁰ Narain 1957-80, 110-11: (F 103).

¹⁴¹ Early Buddhist philosophy is explained in the text in the form of questions and answers. But see Tarn 1951-84, 414-36: (F 152), for an excursus on 'The Milindapañña and Pseudo-Aristeas'.

¹⁴² Narain 1955-76, 15: (F 102); Mitchiner 1975, II.134: (F 101); see also above, n. 107.

¹⁴³ Plutarch, *Moralia* 821 D-F.

¹⁴⁴ This is clear from the various versions of the *Milindapañña* and the survival of Menander's name in Tibetan tradition: Narain 1957-80, 98: (F 103).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 97-9; Tarn 1951-84, 175: (F 152).

the Ganges–Jamuna valley as well as in western India,¹⁴⁶ and if it manifested itself in trade and commerce, art and religion from the latter half of the second century B.C. onwards, the credit goes to Menander. His extensive coinage and its predominance over those of other Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian kings, the expansive kingdom and above all the survival of his name both in the western and eastern sources surely make him the greatest of the Yavana kings.

IV. SUCCESSORS OF MENANDER

After Menander there began the process of decline and fall of the Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian kings. During the century that followed Menander more than twenty rulers are known to have struck coins.¹⁴⁷ While their names are yet to be discovered in any literary source of the west or of the east, already a new king, Thrason, has been added to our list from a recent discovery of one of his silver drachms.¹⁴⁸ The possibility of another king, Theodamus, is so far known only from an inscription on a seal found at Bajaur.¹⁴⁹ In the absence of even the slender clues which have been available hitherto from the literary sources, the task of historical reconstruction of this later phase is frustrating indeed. While some numismatic conclusions can be made to indicate probabilities, any historical arrangement is bound to be very hypothetical and open to more criticism than can be levelled against the arrangement for the earlier period. At any rate it is clear that these kings, after Heliocles I in the north and Menander in the south, cannot be put in a linear succession, ruling on an average not more than five or six years. It is evident that they belonged to several families and more likely than not some of them were striking coins as joint or sub-kings concurrently with the ruling sovereigns. Monograms, irrespective of their interpretation, and the provenance of their coinage, in spite of imperfect records, indicate a waxing and waning of territories, whether for external or internal reasons. The present author has divided these later rulers and their territorial holdings on the basis of the predominating type of their coins and their consistent

¹⁴⁶ Narain 1957–80, 94–5: (F 103). The evidence of the *Periplus* may also be recalled here.

¹⁴⁷ Narain 1957–80: (F 103); chapters 5 and 6 deal with them: see p. 104 for their names, and for their coin-types. See Narain 1955–76, 15–37: (F 102).

¹⁴⁸ So far only one specimen of this coin is known, in a private collection in Bombay. It has on the obverse the bust of the king and on the reverse Athena hurling a thunderbolt. The Greek inscription on the coin reads *Basileus Megalou Thrasonos* and the Kharosthi reads *Maharajasa Mahatasa Thrasasa*. I have seen the photograph of the coin and it is reported by Robert C. Senior in his Sale List 4 of January 1983: (F 141). The coin is said to have been found with Menander drachms.

¹⁴⁹ Konow 1929, 6: (F 78). On palaeographical grounds Konow dates the seal in the 'first half of the first century of the Christian era', and that he could be a king depends upon the interpretation of the prefix *su* (= Saka *shau* = king) before the name. If the date suggested is true, Theodamus could be a satrap under the Saka-Pahlava rule.

geographical distribution.¹⁵⁰ It has rightly been observed that 'we get an impression of the simultaneous rule of more than one king, of mutual antagonism, confusion, and of civil war. The Yavanas seem to have been their own worst enemies.'¹⁵¹

Heliocles I was probably the last Graeco-Bactrian to rule on both sides of the River Oxus until about 140, when he was succeeded by his son Eucratides II. Sometime during the reign of the latter the Yuezhi from Chinese Central Asia had arrived in the region north of the Oxus. Pushed by them, some of the Scythians from the north crossed the Oxus at points near its central bend and, moving westward, harassed the Parthians during the period c. 138–124 B.C. Phraates II and Artabanus II perished in their battles against them. But, finally quelled by Mithridates II, they were obliged to move southward through Merv and Herat to Seistan (Drangiana) where they found a new home.¹⁵² We do not know if, and to what extent, the Bactrian Greeks suffered from their movement southward at this time; their passage through Parthia might have been disturbing, if at all, only marginally in the west; at least none of the Bactrian Greeks is known to have suffered the fate of the Parthian kings. It is only later, after several generations, when these Scythians move northward from Seistan, that the Bactrian Greeks suffer from their activities.¹⁵³

While Eucratides II (140–130 B.C.), represented by 130 coins in the Qunduz hoard, no doubt ruled in central and western Bactria, and Archebius (130–120), Heliocles II (120–115) and Antialcidas (115–100) filled the succession roster in his group,¹⁵⁴ things were not so smooth in the eastern and southern parts of the Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian domains after Menander's death. This was more because of internal reasons than external. Menander's son was a minor, so that for the first time a woman took charge of the state. She was Menander's queen Agathocleia, who acted as regent for some time before his young son Strato I could rule on his own. She struck some coins with her own portrait, and on others she is shown jointly with Strato. Her portrait has a very 'Indian' look about it as regards features, hairstyle and even in what

¹⁵⁰ Narain 1957–80, 101–5; (F 103). ¹⁵¹ Whitehead 1923, 308; (F 161).

¹⁵² Strabo xi.9.2 probably refers to this period. Mithridates II dislodged these Scythians from western parts of Bactria: Narain 1957–80, 134, 140–1; (F 103).

¹⁵³ The evidence of the Qunduz hoard indicates that the Greeks were still in control of central parts of Bactria; if they suffered at all it must have been in the western parts closer to Parthia. The Scytho-Parthians (Pahlavas) came to power in Seistan after or about the time of Mithridates II's death and the independence of Gotarzes in Babylonia, c. 88 B.C. It is a generation later that Azes I is known to have overstruck the coins of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus: Narain 1957–80, 140–2; (F 103).

¹⁵⁴ In the Qunduz hoard, out of 627 there were 144 coins of Eucratides, 221 of Heliocles I and 130 of Eucratides II; there were only 3 of Antialcidas: Curiel and Fussman 1965; (F 39).

is visible of the dress.¹⁵⁵ She adopted the title *Basilisses Theotropou*.¹⁵⁶ Apollodotus I, who may have been a joint or sub-king during the time of Menander, probably did not like the regency of Agathocleia and encouraged defections in the Menander group. Along with him, or following soon after, others such as Antimachus II and Zoilus I, in whose group Lysias was included, founded their own establishments wherever they could.¹⁵⁷

This provided an opportunity for Antialcidas, a member of the Eucratides group, to extend his power in Gandhara and become a king of Taxila, while Antimachus II was in possession of the Swat valley.¹⁵⁸ Lysias, one of the Menander group and a contemporary rival of Antialcidas, fought with him in the remaining portions of Afghanistan; if one of his coins was indeed found in the Ai Khanum hoard, against none of Antialcidas, Lysias could have been holding briefly the remote north-eastern part of the Bactrian Greek kingdom before the Yuezhi crossed the Oxus and forced Lysias and his group to contend with Antialcidas in the southern regions of Afghanistan.¹⁵⁹

Antialcidas, surely one of the better known of the later kings, is known to have sent an envoy from Taxila, Heliodorus, to the court of Bhāgabhadra, an Indian king of central India. By the time Antialcidas' rule ended in Gandhara c. 100 B.C. the Yuezhi had crossed the Oxus and occupied Bactria proper, bringing to an end the Bactrian Greek holdings there, confining them in regions south of the Hindu Kush and in the enclaves of the Indo-Afghan borderlands and in the upper Indus and Swat valleys. But from these regions, too, they were squeezed out in the next few decades by the Sakas, coming from the north through the Pamir passes, and by the Scytho-Parthians, known as Pahlavas to Indian sources, moving upwards from Sacastene (Seistan) to Ghazni and then to Gandhara.¹⁶⁰

Among the last kings of the various groups, some are known to have minted more coins than others. Though almost all of them struck a few unilingual coins in the Attic system, the main bulk of their coinage remained bilingual in the Indian system of weight. If quantitatively Strato I and II, Apollodotus II, Diomedes, Nicias, Hippostratus and Hermaeus appear to dominate the period, it is Amyntas who steals the

¹⁵⁵ Haughton 1948, 134-41: (F 61); Narain 1957-80, 110: (F 103).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; Whitehead 1970, 216: (F 164). ¹⁵⁷ Narain 1957-80, 112-14: (F 103).

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ A hoard of coins found by farmers during 1973-4 at Ai Khanum, but not from the excavations, contained at least 141 and possibly more coins; the other hoard found in the stratified excavations in October 1973, on the other hand, contained only 63. One coin of Lysias is included in the reconstructed inventory of the hoard but is considered as an 'intrusion' by Holt 1981, 9-10: (F 65). I do not see any reason to agree, not only in view of the incomplete evidence but also because five coins of Lysias as against one of Antialcidas were included in the Qunduz hoard.

¹⁶⁰ Narain 1957-80, 132-8: (F 103).

show by minting the largest silver coins and by adopting the title of *Nikator*.¹⁶¹ Hermaeus was the last king.¹⁶² By marrying Calliope, probably a regnant queen belonging to another family,¹⁶³ he made the last bid to unify the Greeks of Bactria and India. But it was too late: by the middle of the first century B.C. the three-pronged movement of the Yuezhi-Kushan, Saka and Pahlava ethnic groups had already divided the kingdom between themselves.¹⁶⁴

V. CONCLUSION

The Bactrian Greek state did not arise out of a conquest as did the Achaemenid empire or that of Alexander in the east; it was also not an immediate successor-state of Alexander like those of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. On the contrary, it arose out of a revolt and it lived with a series of them: Diodotus revolted against the Seleucids, Euthydemus against the Diodoti and Eucratides against the Euthydemids. It was not a monolithic dynastic state like those of the Seleucids or Ptolemies, but one in which related and unrelated families, legitimate successors as well as usurpers, ever feuding, somehow adjusted for their existence as a composite state. They survived through a story of recurring conflicts and changing authorities and loyalties. At no time in its life of about two hundred years did any one king, or any one of the dynastic groups, rule over the entire kingdom, consisting of those regions in the east where Alexander had to deal with high resistance not only from the Iranians and Indians but also from the Greek settlers, and where he had both experienced the toughest of his battles and also ordered more massacres than in the west. In spite of the in-fighting and the condition of flux, this composite state was able to maintain its identity and survive for a long period. Above all, military force combined with economic control provided security as well as prosperity and enabled the state to last as long as it did. While the military strategy and administration were fought out by the rulers within their own fold, the economic and political structure of the state was shared with the local elites with such social relations and acceptance of religious systems as to reduce the gap between the ruler and the ruled so that finally they became one.

It is not possible to affirm that this entire state was ruled from one capital city throughout its existence. In the beginning it could have been Bactra or Zariaspa, or most probably, as the evidence now emerges, it was the city at the site of Ai Khanum, perhaps named Dionysopolis (or

¹⁶¹ Curiel and Fussman 1965, 46, pls. 52-3: (F 39); Mitchiner 1975, II.219: (F 101).

¹⁶² Narain 1957-80, 157-64: (F 103).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 161-2. For illustration of the joint coin see Mitchiner 1975, II.226: (F 101).

¹⁶⁴ Narain 1957-80, ch. 5 *passim*: (F 103).

Diodoteia) until it was moved by Euthydemus to Bactra.¹⁶⁵ No doubt, however, by the second century B.C. there was already more than one city from which the government was administered.¹⁶⁶ If there was any satrapal division of the state at the outset, as may be inferred from Strabo and others,¹⁶⁷ it was soon found to be redundant because of revolts and resultant fragmentation which made such large territorial jurisdictions out of place. At any rate it is agreed that it did not have the triple Seleucid division of satrapy, eparchy and hyparchy.¹⁶⁸ Probably the institution of satrapal office yielded to that of the joint kings and sub-kings, *socius regni*, the office mentioned by Justin in the case of Eucratides I.¹⁶⁹ They were supposed to assist the king in the administration with more freedom and power than a satrap. Coins also indicate that at times a queen could be a regent for a minor son, or even a co-ruler as in the example of Hermaeus and Calliope. The only name of an administrative position which has survived in inscriptions is that of Meridarch,¹⁷⁰ an institution not heard of in the Seleucid system.¹⁷¹ Perhaps the Bactrian Greeks believed in having only lower or smaller units of administration, consisting of a district or a division rather than large provinces, and these were put probably under the direct control of the king or his joint or sub-kings. Assuming that the Sakas and Pahlavas followed the Bactrian Greeks and adopted aspects of their administration and nomenclature, one may infer from their inscriptions that some *strategoi* were probably also appointed; they represented the coercive element of the state.¹⁷² In the case of the Sakas, the *strategoi* do not appear to have been in full charge of the satrapies because they had also the Kshatrapas and Mahakshatrapas in their administration. But if the latter were the equivalents of sub-kings and joint-kings of the Bactrian Greek state, the *strategoi* may have been in charge of the frontier or strategic military settlements. Or perhaps a system of dual administration dividing the 'civil' and 'military' roles was

¹⁶⁵ While there is no doubt that Bactra/Zariaspa was the capital of the state under Euthydemus (as is clear from Polybius, for it was there that Euthydemus had withdrawn and held out against Antiochus III), there is no specific evidence whether it was the capital of Diodotus from the very start; in view of the Ai Khanum evidence it seems more likely that his capital was in the remote north-eastern part of Bactria before it was moved to Bactra, whether or not by Diodotus himself.

¹⁶⁶ Besides the one at Ai Khanum and Bactra we may visualize a chief city at each of the following locations (in some cases perhaps more than one): in the Qunduz valley, Begram, Charsada, Taxila Sāgala and the Swat valley.

¹⁶⁷ Strabo XI. 11. 2; also indirectly in Justin xli. 6. Based on Ptolemy's evidence, Tarn envisages as many as nine province-names east of the Paropamisadae during the time of Menander in addition to several others in other regions of the Bactrian Greek kingdom (1951-84, 240: (F 152)).

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 242. ¹⁶⁹ Justin xli. 6.

¹⁷⁰ Konow 1929, 1-5: (F 78). Two Meridarchs are known from inscriptions, Theodoros in the Swat valley and one whose name cannot be read at Taxila.

¹⁷¹ Tarn 1951-84, 242: (F 152).

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 241. But there is no actual reference to the office or to a name of an incumbent during the period of the Bactrian and Indian Greeks (if the indirect evidence about Viyakamitra is not accepted). *Strategoi* are known only from later Scytho-Parthian coins.

in operation. One may even postulate that the *strategoi* were the links between the king and the Meridarchs. The *Milindapañha* refers to the *amacca*, a Pali word (*amātya* in Sanskrit) which may be translated as 'ministers' or 'councillors', who were always available to advise Menander; the text mentions the names of Anantakāya (Antiochus), Devamantiya (Diomedes ?), Sabbadinna or Dinna (Dion) and Maṅkura (a non-Greek?) as Menander's *amacca*.¹⁷³ Could they be taken as equivalents of the 'Friends' (*philoī*) of the Seleucid system?¹⁷⁴ While no specific information is available on their inter-state diplomatic relations with kings or kingdoms to their west, there is evidence for the despatch of an envoy, Heliodorus, from Taxila by one of the Indo-Greek kings, Antialcidas, to the court of Bhāgabhadra, an Indian king in Central India.¹⁷⁵ This envoy, said to be a son of Dion, could be a son of Dinna, an *amacca* of Menander.¹⁷⁶

No doubt the Greeks of Bactria and India presided over a flourishing economy. This is clearly indicated by their coinage and the monetary exchange they had established with other currencies. But again there is not much to enlighten us about their fiscal administration and monetary management. We are still in the dark as to whether the monograms on their coins stand for mints or moneyers, or both. But we do know from the recent discovery of ink inscriptions on vases at Ai Khanum that there were functionaries involved in the accounting and storage of money and goods received.¹⁷⁷ Whether these accumulations were items of tribute or revenue receipts, or the wealth of a business magnate resulting from trade and commerce, may be questioned. But from such names as Oxeboakes, Oxubazes, Aryandes in these documents, the participatory roles of the Indo-Iranians in their management are evident. The occurrence of Kharosthi letters with Greek monograms on the coins, as well as of Brahmi along with Greek on an important funerary monument, tells the same story.¹⁷⁸

The affluence and the scramble for wealth and power, which must have been a major reason for the in-fighting and political fragmentation of the state, in turn also sapped the military strength of the population and made them more a nation of shopkeepers than of energetic soldiers.

¹⁷³ *Milindapañha* II, *The Questions of King Milinda* Part 1, 47ff.: (P 100).

¹⁷⁴ See Walbank, *CAH*² VII.1.68–71. He notes, 'kings, Friends and army are often mentioned together as three focal points of importance in a Hellenistic kingdom' (n. 25).

¹⁷⁵ It is likely that Antialcidas sought the friendship of this king from Vidisha (Bhopal) in Central India to strengthen his hold over Taxila because the Indo-Greeks under Menander had suffered a reverse in that area: Narain 1957–80, 82: (F 103).

¹⁷⁶ Since Antialcidas came to occupy Taxila soon after the death of Menander it is not unlikely that the former wisely chose a son of one of the 'ministers' of Menander for the post of an envoy.

¹⁷⁷ Rapin 1983: (F 127).

¹⁷⁸ Tarn 1951–84, 356: (F 152), for Kharosthi letters, and Narain 1986: (F 110) for Brahmi.

The observation of Zhang Qian, the Chinese envoy to the Yuezhi, about Bactria in 129/8 B.C. seems appropriate:¹⁷⁹

The Daxia, situated in the south of the Oxus river . . . have walled cities and houses. . . . They have had no great kings or chiefs. Some cities and towns had small chiefs. Their soldiers were weak and feared fighting. They were skilful in trade. When the Da Yuezhi migrated westward, they attacked and defeated them and subjugated all the Daxia.

A long period of interaction with the peoples and cultures of the region made the Greeks of Bactria and India part of the local milieu. They had kept their identity as long as they could before they were absorbed in the melting pot of south Asia. They were socially integrated into the caste system of India, they became Buddhists and Hindus, master craftsmen and architects, adopted Indian names and titles, and wrote in Indian script and languages. In this process they not only internalized many ideas and institutions of Iranian and Indian origin but also made abiding contributions to various aspects of the life and culture of south Asia, for example in art and iconography, literature and drama, astronomy and the calendrical system.

While the literary sources, both Indian and western, yield little information, material remains have proved comparatively more rewarding, particularly those from the recent but still incomplete excavations at Ai Khanum. A brief glimpse of how the east and the west interacted there may be apt here.¹⁸⁰ Of the public structures at Ai Khanum, while there are such typically Greek items as a gymnasium and a theatre, albeit with an 'oriental' touch, the builders had turned to Persian models for their concept and execution of the palace construction, though Graeco-Bactrian elements may be discerned in the architectural embellishments. If the plan of private apartments and the flat roofs of the buildings were characteristically eastern and of non-hellenic inspiration, the use of an ornamental edging of terracotta lines gave them a Greek look, as did the decor of cylindrical stone columns and rectangular stone pilasters. But the importance the inhabitants gave to their luxurious bathrooms was not Greek. Although the gymnasium was protected in the Greek tradition by Hermes and Heracles and the presiding deities on the coins generally belong to the Greek pantheon, the three temples discovered at Ai Khanum are not Greek at all: their massive structure standing on a high three-stepped podium and other details were borrowed from Iranian or Central Asian tradition; one of them, a large stepped platform

¹⁷⁹ *Shiji* ch. 123, translation of the passage by Kajuo Enoki in Narain 1957-80, 139: (F 103).

¹⁸⁰ See a splendid summary of the result of work at Ai Khanum in Bernard 1982: (F 23). The account that follows is based essentially on this report. See also *Pls. to Vol. VII*, 1, pp. 25-7 with pls. 26 and 27.

at the south-west corner of the acropolis, could belong even to Indian tradition. The Greeks followed their own custom of burial, but the rites they performed in the temples were not hellenic. Similarly, while Greek inscriptions on stone and imprints from papyrus manuscripts have survived to indicate their links to Delphi and the elite's love for Greek poetry and philosophy, and while there are Greek inscriptions on the vases found in the so-called 'Treasury', the use of Aramaic, Brahmi and Kharosthi scripts may also be noted.¹⁸¹ If among the settlers and functionaries of the city there were Greeks of various origins as well as Macedonians, there were also, as mentioned above, people of Iranian and other backgrounds. In the arts, too, examples of Greek tradition as well as those belonging to Iranian, Indian and Central Asian traditions abound. While iconographic elements of their deities remained mostly Greek in their execution, artists were aware not only of local canons and practices but they also introduced innovations in technique that were rarely seen in Greece. These are particularly noticeable in the depiction of cult figures and in making monumental statues and mural bas-reliefs. Bernard has observed that the taste of these people 'remained traditionally Greek, even to the point of perpetuating an outdated Classical style'.¹⁸² This is well taken; it underscores the pre-Alexander elements in the east, the 'hellenic' as against the 'Hellenistic'. Tarn observed that 'it must be emphasised that Greeks were not in India for the purpose of Hellenising Indians, and there is no sign that they ever attempted to do so; they had come to India for a definite purpose, which had failed, and they stayed there to rule what they could because there was nothing else they could do'.¹⁸³ When the Greeks of Bactria and India lost their kingdom they were not all killed, nor did they return to Greece. They merged with the people of the area and worked for the new masters;¹⁸⁴ contributing considerably to the culture and civilization in southern and central Asia, they became part of its history. I still believe 'they came, they saw, but India conquered'.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ For Aramaic see Grenet 1983, 373-81: (F 54).

¹⁸² Bernard 1982, 158: (F 23).

¹⁸³ Tarn 1951-84, 375-6: (F 152).

¹⁸⁴ Besides those who must have been absorbed in administrative positions or in army there is also the example of the slave Agesilas, one of the architects in the time of Kanishka.

¹⁸⁵ Narain 1957-80, 11: (F 103). About thirty years ago when I wrote this line, most of about fifty reviews (in eight languages) which I saw took this as my *leitmotif*; some agreed with me and others did not. But as I said in the preface of my book, it is not easy to settle matters conclusively. In response to a recent remark that my assessment, as counterpart to that of Tarn, 'is no less ethnocentric' (Holt in his Introduction to the latest reprint edition of Tarn's book, p. v), I only refer to another statement: 'it must not be thought, however, that Dr Narain writes from a narrowly nationalistic viewpoint - far from it: he has gone fully into the evidence on both sides and is scrupulously fair in his treatment of it': Jenkins in his *Review* in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 1957: (F 72).

APPENDIX I: THE GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND THE INDO-GREEK KINGS IN CHRONOLOGICAL AND GENEALOGICAL GROUP ARRANGEMENTS

256-248		Diodotus I			
248-235		Diodotus II			
235-200	Euthydemus I				
200-185	Demetrius I				
200-190	Euthydemus II				
195-185		Antimachus I			
185-180	Pantaleon				
185-175		Demetrius II			
180-165	Agathocles				
171-155					Eucratides I
155-130	Agathocleia =	=	Menander		
155-153					Plato
140-125			Apollodotus I		Heliocles I
140-130					Eucratides II
130-125	Zoilus I	Antimachus II			
130-120					Archebius
			Agathocleia & Strato I		
125-120			Polyxenus		
125-115		Philoxenus			Heliocles II
120-95			Strato I		
120-110	Lysias				Antialcidas
115-100					
115-110	Thrason	Epander			
110-95			Apollodotus II		
100-95	Theophilus	Nicias			Diomedes
95-90	Artemidorus	Peucolaus	Strato I & II		
95-80	Telephus	Hippostratus			Amyntas
85-75		Dionysius	Strato II		
80-75			Apollonphanes		
75-55		Calliope =	=		Hermaeus

Note: The dates given above, which are by no means absolute because of the very nature of the evidence, are revised estimates from earlier conclusions (Narain 1957-80, 181: (F 103)). So also the genealogical group arrangements of the kings are not strictly genealogical but indicate direct or indirect kinship in an extended family sense either by descent or by marriage. Those listed in the first three groups cumulatively appear to form one internal group succeeding the Diodoti. The fourth group may be treated as external started by an usurper, Eucratides I.

APPENDIX II: TERRITORIAL JURISDICTIONS OF THE GRAECO-BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK KINGS

The territorial assignments indicated below are based on conclusions of earlier work (Narain 1957-80: (F 103)) and some revisions made in the text above. Just as the chronology of the kings and joint/sub-kings are often overlapping, their territorial jurisdictions also often overlap. The political geography has been divided into eleven territorial areas based on numismatic distribution and other evidence. They are numbered as follows:

(1) Bactria (western and central). (2) Bactria (eastern or Badakshan). (3) Sogdiana (or northern Bactria, north of Oxus). (4) Aria. (5) Arachosia (northern or Ghazni area). (6) Arachosia (southern or Seistan/Drangiana). (7) Paropamisadae (Kabul valley). (8) Gandhara (western or west of Indus). (9) Gandhara (eastern or Taxila region). (10) Udyana (Swat valley). (11) Eastern Punjab.

Name of king	Territories										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Diodotus I	x	x									
Diodotus II	x	x	x								
Euthydemus I	x	x	x	x							
Demetrius I	x	x	x	x	x						
Euthydemus II	x	x	x								
Antimachus I	x	x									
Demetrius II	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
Eucratides I	x		x	x	x		x	x			
Pantaleon	x	x					x	x	x		
Agathocles	x	x					x	x	x	x	
Menander	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Heliocles I	x	x	x	x							
Eucratides II	x	x	x	x							
Apollodotus I	x				x		x	x	x	x	
Antimachus II					x					x	
Polyxenus					x			x			
Epander							x				
Strato I & Agathocleia					x			x	x		x
Archebius	x				x		x				
Zoilus I					x					x	
Heliocles II							x				
Lysias	x	x			x		x	x			
Antialcidas	x				x		x	x	x		
Philoxenus	x				x		x	x	x		
Diomedes								x			
Peucolaus							x				
Thrasos											?
Artemidorus								x			
Theophilus	x							x			
Nicias								x			
Hippostratus								x	x		
Telephus									x		
Apollodotus II								x	x	x	x
Amyntas	x						x	x			
Strato II											x
Zoilus II											x
Dionysius											x
Apollonophanes											x
Hermacus & Calliope	x						x	x	x		

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Abbreviations

- AAN* *Atti dell' Accademia di Scienzi morali e politiche della Società nazionale di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Napoli*
AAnt. Hung. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AE *L'Année épigraphique*
AFLPad. *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Padova*
AIPh *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*
AJAH *American Journal of Ancient History*
AJArch. *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJPhil. *American Journal of Philology*
AM *Annales du Midi*
Amer. Hist. Rev. *American Historical Review*
ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin and New York, 1972—
ANSMN *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes*
Ant. Class. *L'Antiquité classique*
Ant. Journ. *Antiquaries Journal*
Arch. Anz. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (in *JDAI*)
Arch. Del. *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
Arch. Eph. *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*
ASAA *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*
ASNSP *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*
Atti Taranto *Atti dei Convegni di studi sulla Magna Graecia*. Taranto
AvP *Altertümer von Pergamon* (Museen zu Berlin and Deutsches Archäologisches Institut). Berlin, 1885— (13 volumes so far published)
BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BEFEO *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*
BICS *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (London)
BMQ *British Museum Quarterly*
BSA *Annual of the British School at Athens*
BSFN *Bulletin de la Société française de Numismatique*
Bull. Com. Arch. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma*
Bull. épigr. J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* (in *REG*)
Bull. Rylands Lib. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*

- CAH *The Cambridge Ancient History*
 C&M *Classica et Mediaevalia*
 CDE *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche (Atti dell' incontro di studi. Università di Siena. 28-30 aprile 1976)*. Florence, 1977
 CE *Chronique d'Égypte*
 CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
 CJ *Classical Journal*
 CPh *Classical Philology*
 CQ *Classical Quarterly*
 CRAI *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*
 CT *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*
 DArch. *Dialoghi di Archeologia*
 Denkschr. Akad. Wien *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
 Ep. Ind. *Epigraphia Indica*
 ESAR *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. T. Frank. 6 vols. Baltimore, 1933-40
 FD *Fouilles de Delphes*
 FGrH F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin and Leiden, 1923-
 FIRA S. Riccobono, *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiusiniani*. 3 vols. Florence, 1940-3
 G&R *Greece & Rome*
 Gramm. Rom. Frag. H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta* (Vol. 1 only). Leipzig, 1907
 GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
 GWU *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*
 Harv. Stud. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
 Hesp. *Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
 HIM *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien (Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5 bis 9 Juni 1974)*, ed. P. Zanker. 2 vols. Göttingen, 1976
 Hist.-fil. Medd. Kgl. Da. Vid. Selsk. *Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
 HZ *Historische Zeitschrift*
 IBulg. G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*. Sofia, 1958-
 IC M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*. 4 vols. Rome, 1935-50
 ID *L'Italia Dialettale*
 IDélos F. Durrbach and others, *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris, 1926-50
 IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
 IGCH M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, C. M. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York, 1973
 IGRom. R. Cagnat and others. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*. Paris, 1906-27
 IHQ *Indian Historical Quarterly*
 ILampsakos P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos*. Bonn, 1978
 ILindos Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos II: Les inscriptions*. 2 vols. Berlin and Copenhagen, 1941
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- ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1892-1916
Inscr. Italiae *Inscriptiones Italiae*
 IPE B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxeni Graecae et Latinae*. 2nd edn. St Petersburg, 1916
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 IvP III Ch. Habicht, *Inschriften von Pergamon III: Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*. Berlin, 1969
 JA *Journal Asiatique*
 JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
 JDAI *Jahrbuch des [kaiserlich] deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
 JEg. Arch. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
 JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
 JNG *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*
 JNSI *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
 JÖAI *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
 JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
 JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
 JS *Journal des Savants*
 JSHRZ *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, ed. W. G. Kümmel. Gütersloh, 1976
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 LEC *Les Études classiques*
 LW Ph. Le Bas, W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie-Mineure*. 2 vols. Paris, 1870
 MAAR *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
 MAL *Memorie della classe di Scienze morali e storiche dell' Accademia dei Lincei*
 MDFA *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*
 MDAI *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
 (A) *Athenische Abteilung*
 (I) *Istanbuler Abteilung*
 (M) *Madridrer Abteilung*
 Mélanges d'arch. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*
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 MH *Museum Helveticum*
 Michel, *Recueil* Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*. Brussels, 1900
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- Philol. Philologus
- PJ Palästinajahrbuch
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- QC Quaderni Catanesi di Studi classici e medievale
- RD Revue historique de droit français et étranger
- REA Revue des études anciennes
- REG Revue des études grecques
- REJ Revue des études juives
- REL Revue des études latines
- Rend. Inst. Lomb. Cl. Lettere Rendiconti del Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche
- Rev. Arch. Revue archéologique
- Rev. Arch. Narbonnaise Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise
- Rev. Hist. Rel. Revue de l'histoire des religions
- Rev. Num. Revue numismatique
- Rev. Phil. Revue de philologie
- Rb. Mus. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
- RIGS Incontro di studi su "Roma e l'Italia fra i Gracchi e Silla" (Pontignano. 18–21 settembre 1969). *DArch.* 4–5 (1970–1) 3–4, 163–562
- Riv. Fil. Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica
- RMR Roma medio repubblicana, aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III a.C. Rome, 1973
- RSA Rivista storica dell' Antichità
- RSt Rivista storica italiana
- SCI Scripta Classica Israelica
- SCO Studi classici e orientali

- SDAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
 Sherk, *Documents* R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*.
 Baltimore, 1969
- SIFC* *Studi italiani di filologia classica*
- SIG* W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. 4 vols. 3rd edn. Leipzig,
 1915-24
- SRPS* *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, ed. A. Giardina and A. Schiavone.
 3 vols. Rome and Bari, 1981
- Stud. Clas.* *Studii clasice*
- Stud. Etr.* *Studi etruschi*
- TAPA* *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- VDI* *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*
- Welles, RC C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*. New
 Haven, 1934
- YCIS* *Yale Classical Studies*
- ZATW* *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- ZDPV* *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins*
- ZNTW* *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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